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National Contest,

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OF OUR

NATIONAL FAVORITES.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S MESSAGE,

AND REPLY BY

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

Election Statistics and National Platforms,

ALSO,

TARIFF DISCUSSIONS,

BY

Hon. John G. Carlisle and Hon. Wm. McKinley, Jr.

H. J. SMITH & CO.

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Oakland, Cal.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
THE LIFE OF GROVER CLEVELAND,	5
THE LIFE OF ALLAN G. THURMAN,	17
THE LIFE OF GEN. BENJAMIN HARRISON,	29
THE LIFE OF LEVI PARSONS MORTON,	41
PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,	51
PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY,	60
PLATFORM OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY,	66
PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS,	69
PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S MESSAGE DISCUSSED BY HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,	87
VIEWS ON THE TARIFF BY HON. WM. MCKINLEY, JR., OF OHIO,	99
VIEWS ON THE TARIFF BY HON. JOHN G. CARLISLE OF KEN- TUCKY,	113
QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED FOR VOTING,	125
DATES OF STATE ELECTIONS,	125
POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES FROM 1852 TO 1884	126
POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1884,	127
ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1860 TO 1884,	128



THE LIFE OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

Democratic Candidate for President.



Richard Falley Cleveland, third son of William Cleveland, and father of Grover Cleveland, was born in Norwich, Conn., June 19, 1804, and after graduating with high honors from Yale College in 1824, went to Baltimore, where he fell in love with Anne Neale, the daughter of a prosperous publisher, of Irish extraction. He

He soon after entered Princeton Theological Seminary, and after a three years' course, he received a call to a church at Windham, Conn., which he accepted, and then hastened to Baltimore where he was married to Anne Neale in 1829. His second trust was in Portsmouth, Va., and in little over a year, in the fall of 1834, he accepted a call to the Presbyterian church at Caldwell, near Newark, N. J.

Richard and Anne Cleveland had nine children, as follows: Anna (Mrs. Dr. Hastings), born in 1830; William N., born in 1832; Mary (Mrs. W. E. Hoyt), 1833;

Richard Cecil, 1835; Stephen Grover, 1837; Margaret (Mrs. N. B. Bacon), 1838; Lewis Frederick, 1841; Susan (Mrs. L. Yeomans), 1843; Rose E. (unmarried), 1846. All the children are living, except two who were burned at sea. The father of Richard Falley Cleveland was William Cleveland, whose father was the Rev. Dr. Aaron Cleveland, great grandfather of Grover Cleveland, and a graduate of Harvard College, afterwards ordained a clergyman of the Episcopal church. The Cleveland ancestry date their settlement in this country to 1636, when Moses Cleveland, of Ipswich, county of Suffolk, England, settled in Woburn, Massachusetts. The family is noted for its piety and religious zeal, having had distinguished representatives in the clerical profession for many generations.

Grover Cleveland was born March 18, 1837, in New Jersey, and named Stephen Grover in honor of Rev. Stephen Grover whom his father had succeeded. The name of Stephen was so seldom used that he never became accustomed to it, and before he became of age he ceased altogether to use it and signed his name simply Grover Cleveland.

In 1840, when Grover was nearly four years old, his father accepted a call from the Presbyterian Church of Fayetteville, New York. The trip from New Jersey to central New York, in those days, was much more of an undertaking than it is to-day; about ten days were occupied in reaching Fayetteville, the home of the future president. The tired parents, while passing through Albany, little thought that their four years old son would one day be a future Governor.

In the little town of Fayetteville young Grover had his ups and downs as other children, and at the age of eight years he began attending the district school, and two years

later entered the academy. It was while he was studying here that Grover conceived the idea of spending his vacation in visiting his uncle, Lewis F. Allen, of Black Rock, N. Y., a village very near Buffalo. Lewis Allen was a stock breeder owning a large farm, and during Grover's eight weeks stay he was of much assistance to his uncle, who in turn was not slow in finding Grover's good qualities and sterling worth, and was loath to have his nephew return.

Although this trip may seem of little importance to the reader, it had much to do with Buffalo's claim of giving to the country a president. On his return he gave up his studies and entered one of the village stores on a salary of fifty dollars the first year and a promise of one hundred dollars for the second year on condition of his giving satisfaction.

Satisfaction was given, and at the end of the first year he was engaged for the second. But before the close of that year he was called to Clinton, N. Y., where his father had returned with his family, and then Grover entered the academy with the intention of completing his preparations for college, and after a college course, to study law. At the end of two years he was ready for college, and everything promised well. The family, after residing two years in Clinton, moved in September, 1853, to Holland Patent, where the father had accepted a call from the Presbyterian church. Preparations were being made by Grover to return to Clinton that fall and enter Hamilton College, but in less than a month's time after reaching Holland Patent, Grover's father died. All plans were changed, each must do for that widow and family. In his sixteenth year, Grover Cleveland began his battle with the world. Poor in cash, 'tis true, but rich in health, a clear head and willing hands. His first year was spent as a clerk in the New York Insti-

tution for the Blind, in New York city, where his brother William was engaged in teaching. At the close of his first year's work he returned to his mother's family at Holland Patent. The small amount earned in New York had been given to his mother for support of the family, and the spring of 1855 found Grover casting about for employment. Utica, Syracuse and the larger towns near Holland Patent were visited, but of no avail. It was then that he decided to go west, and Cleveland, Ohio, was selected as the objective point. He has said the town having the same name as his own deciding him on this place. He at once started for Cleveland, stopping at Buffalo to visit his uncle, Lewis F. Allen, whom he had visited on his first trip from home.

The stock breeder was surprised at the sudden arrival of his nephew, and learning from him of his intended western trip, soon persuaded him to remain with him and assist him in getting out a herd book and then go on west, if he wished, but at the same time promised to use his influence in getting him a place in one of the law offices of Buffalo. A promise by Uncle Allen of fifty dollars decided Grover, and he at once began his work of writing up and sifting out the blue blooded stock of those days. In due time the book was ready for the market and at once had a good sale. Uncle Allen paid Grover for his work sixty-five dollars in place of fifty. Now came the duty of finding a law office for Grover which was soon done. Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, one of the leading firms in Western New York, were in need of an office man, and Grover secured the place. He was stationed at a desk in another room and given a large volume of Blackstone to read. He was left to himself the first day and he improved his time. The members

of the firm and others soon learned of his worth and felt that his success was certain.

After six months in the office Grover began to receive his first pay in a law office, which was four dollars per week—just enough to pay his board, washing, and necessary expenses.

Grover's advance was rapid, and by hard studying he was admitted to the bar in 1859, and was soon made the manager of his employers' business. His salary rapidly increased and he was receiving \$1,000 per year at the time he left the employ of Rogers, Bowen & Rogers at the close of 1862.

During the fall of 1862, C. C. Torrance, district attorney of Erie County, was looking about for an assistant. There were many applications from young lawyers in the vicinity.

Mr. Torrance called upon Grover and insisted that he should take the place, stating that he had been urged on this point by many of his (Grover's) friends, and other applicants agreed to yield if Cleveland would accept.

After due consideration he accepted, and began the duties of Assistant District Attorney of Erie County on January 1, 1863.

The ward in which Cleveland lived was Republican, and wanting the strongest Democrat to run on their ticket that fall for supervisor, he was selected. His standing and sterling worth were shown when the counting was done. While his party were two hundred behind, he lacked but twelve votes of a majority. Before the three years were over, it was generally conceded that Grover Cleveland would be the next candidate for District Attorney.

Knowing the popularity of the man, the Republicans were distressed to find his equal, and strangely decided upon Lyman K. Bass, an intimate friend of Cleveland's, Being

advised by Cleveland to accept, he did so and a strong canvass was made, which resulted in the election of Mr. Bass by about five hundred majority, although Cleveland ran far ahead of his ticket in every ward.

His past record at once brought him numerous propositions of partnership and one was formed with the Hon. I. V. Vanderpoel, Ex-State Treasurer, under the firm name of Vanderpoel & Cleveland, which existed until August, 1869, when a partnership was formed with Ex-Senator A. P. Laning and the Hon. Oscar Folsom. The firm name was Laning, Cleveland & Folsom, and at once commanded a large business.

The warm friendship which sprang up between Mr. Folsom and Cleveland continued during the former's life. On the death of Mr. Folsom, caused by being thrown from a carriage, the following remarks were made by Mr. Cleveland at a meeting of the Bar of Erie County, July 26, 1875, held in honor of Mr. Folsom's memory, which show the noble mind and warm friendship of Mr. Cleveland:

It has been said, "Light sorrows speak—great grief is dumb," and the application of this would enforce my silence on this occasion. But I cannot go so far; nor let the hours pass without adding a tribute of respect and love to my departed friend. He was my friend in the most sacred and complete sense of the term. I have walked with him, talked with him, ate with him, and slept with him—was he not my friend?

In the course of a life not entirely devoid of startling incidents, I can truly say I never was so shocked and overwhelmed as when I heard on Friday night of the death of Oscar Folsom. I had an engagement with him that evening, and was momentarily expecting him when I received the intelligence of his injury; and before I reached the scene of the accident I was abruptly told of his death; I shall not attempt to describe my emotions. Death seemed so foreign to this man; and the exuberance of his life was so marked and prominent that the idea of his dying or his death seemed to me incongruous and out of place. * * *

The sadness of his taking off has no alleviation. I shall not dwell upon the harrowing circumstances. On Friday afternoon Oscar Folsom,

in the mid-day of life, was cherishing bright anticipations for the future. Among them he had planned a home in an adjoining town, where he calculated upon much peace and quiet. He had already partially perfected his arrangements, which were soon to be fully consummated. But God had intervened. The hands of loving friends bore him to a home, but not the home he had himself provided. He found peace in the home that God provides for the sons of men, and quiet; ah, such quiet! — in the grave. I know how fleeting and how soon forgotten are the lessons taught by such calamities. "The gay will laugh, the solemn brow of care plod on, and each one as before pursue his favorite phantom." But it seems to me long, long years will intervene before pleasant memories of his life will be unmingled with the sad admonitions furnished by the death of Oscar Folsom.

Let us cherish him in loving remembrance, and heed well the lesson of his death; and let our tenderest sympathy extend to a childless father, a widowed wife, and fatherless child.

In 1870 Mr. Cleveland was elected Sheriff of Erie County. This office, one of the most important of the county offices, he filled with credit, and showed his fidelity to the trust and the welfare of the public.

These three years are no doubt the foundation of his present popularity.

While holding the office of sheriff, his two brothers, Cecil and Frederick, were lost by the burning of a vessel, on which they had taken passage for Bermuda. At the close of his term as sheriff, in the year of 1874, Bass, Cleveland & Bissell formed a law partnership, but during the year, on account of failing health, Mr. Bass retired from the firm, and the name became Cleveland & Bissell. Mr. George J. Sicard being admitted in 1881. In the fall of this year an important election for mayor was to take place in Buffalo. Reforms were needed in the municipal affairs of that city, and the Democrats were looking about for a candidate that would lead them to victory. Grover Cleveland was selected for that honor.

He was elected by a majority of 3,500, the largest ever given a candidate for that office, although the Republicans carried Buffalo for their State ticket by a majority of over 1,600. In his inaugural message to the council of Buffalo, January, 1882, he rang the key note of reform, and set forth his honesty of purpose in strong and pointed language.

It seems to me that a successful and faithful administration of the government of our city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust, to be expended for their benefit; that we should at all times be prepared to render an honest account of them, touching the manner of their expenditure; and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.

Grover Cleveland had been Mayor of Buffalo only six months; yet in that brief period, by the courageous discharge of his duty, and by close scrutiny into the expenditures of government, nearly a million dollars had been saved and the burden of taxation diminished to a corresponding amount. His popularity in the city grew rapidly as he persevered in a course of action which had already effected such great results.

Summing up the results of these six months, the *Buffalo Courier*, the leading Democratic newspaper of Western New York, when Mayor Cleveland's name was first suggested in connection with the Democratic nomination for Governor, said:

If the wishes and expectations of a large number of staunch Democrats in this part of the State are to be realized, Western New York, and more particularly Erie county, will, at the coming State Convention, present the name of a candidate for the governorship who, with the highest qualifications for the first State office, combines elements of strength and availability surpassed by no one of the distinguished men in other localities whose names have been spoken of in this connection.

The movement in favor of Grover Cleveland, our present Mayor, among the Democracy of Buffalo and Erie county has been wholly spontaneous. No "boom" has been worked up in his behalf. * * * Mayor Cleveland himself is the last man who would push himself forward as a candidate. * * * As to Mr. Cleveland's fitness for the office of Governor there is but one voice among intelligent and fair-minded men in this region. He is universally recognized as one of the best mayors Buffalo ever had. He has proved himself a true reformer, and our neighbor, the *Express*, correctly reflected public sentiment when it said the other day: "Mayor Cleveland is in danger of being nominated for a State office, his reform record being his strong recommendation. Buffalo cannot spare him for anything less than Governor."

The Democratic State convention was held at Syracuse on Sept. 22, 1882.

Many distinguished Democrats were presented as candidates for the Democratic nomination of Governor. They were Mayor Cleveland, the Hon. Roswell P. Flower, the Hon. Erastus Corning, the Hon. Allen Campbell and Gen. Henry E. Slocum. The third ballot decided, with great enthusiasm, the nomination of Grover Cleveland. The result of that election is well known. The opposition within the Republican party to President Arthur's administration, and to Folger, the Republican nominee, many Republicans remaining away from the polls, all combined to give the Democratic party of New York the largest majority ever known, 192,000, and Grover Cleveland was suddenly lifted into national prominence.

Clevelands' conduct and management, as Governor, of the affairs of New York are well and most favorably known. By his strong following of principle, never swerving from a point of right, he put an end to many of the rings of the State, and saved the public thousands of dollars.

Is it any wonder, then, that the Democratic party of New York should, long before the National convention of 1884, consider him favorably for Democratic nominee of the

National party. The letter of June, 1884, from S. J. Tilden, stating a positive refusal to be a candidate of his party, started at once the smouldering fire, and spontaneously spread the movement all over the country in favor of Mr. Cleveland as a leader to victory in 1884. The Democratic National convention was held in Chicago, July 8.

Upon the call of States, Delaware presented Bayard; Indiana, by the voice of Thomas A. Hendricks, presented McDonald; California presented Thurman; Kentucky named Carlisle, and New York presented Cleveland. Tammany men seconded the nominations of Bayard and Thurman; Ohio named its Governor, George Hoadly. The names of Thurman and Cleveland provoked much greater enthusiasm than any of the others.

The result of the second ballot gave Cleveland 683 votes of the total 820, and he received the nomination.

There was no question in the minds of the delegates that Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks should be given the nomination for Vice-President, and he was nominated unanimously.

The memorable campaign of 1884 is well known. The Democratic ticket was elected by the vote in New York state, which gave a plurality of 1,200 votes for Cleveland and Hendricks, and on the 4th of March, 1885, Grover Cleveland took the oath of office, and became President of the United States. Within one year from this date it began to be whispered about that a wedding would soon take place in the White House, and the announcement made in May, 1886, that President Cleveland was to be married to Miss Frances Folsom, created immediate interest, and from that time until the wedding the press of the country discussed the event continuously. The President had

occupied public attention as a statesman and an official, but his life, politically and officially, never touched the heart-chord of the people as did his new domestic policy announced by his friends. At once the Administration became universally popular; there was not a citizen of the republic opposed to the measure, and the unanimity with which it was endorsed was a proof of the real interest felt in the President by the people.

The wedding ceremony was performed on June 2d, 1886, in the Blue Room of the White House, the guests being only the relatives and immediate friends, and Cabinet Officers, with the exception of Attorney-General Garland. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Dr. Sunderland, assisted by the Rev. William N. Cleveland, brother of the President. After the supper, the bride and groom prepared for their journey; farewells were said, and the President led his bride away through the Red Room, to the south porch where the carriage was in waiting.

The bridal trip was taken in President Garrett's private car to Deer Park, Maryland, a summer resort on the crest of the Alleghanies, two hundred miles from Washington. There the honeymoon was passed in quiet and comparative solitude.

Mrs. Cleveland is the youngest and, perhaps, the most popular of the ladies of the White House.

Her marriage there, her youthful charms, her personal magnetism, and proven fitness for the place she fills, all combined, give her this pre-eminence. Her career thus far has been a social triumph, and it is safe to predict that she will continue to meet the approval of the nation, whose good-will she has won.

Of the administration of public affairs, it is needless to dwell on the acts of the President. He has, during the

four years, met and mastered every question, as if from youth trained to Statesmanship. Mindful of his oath in office to defend the Constitution, he courageously declares to Congress that taxation must be reduced. That the millions of dollars poured into the Treasury are the hard earned savings of the American people. This message, which appears further on in this volume, is one of the ablest ever given to Congress.

His unswerving uprightness, his high moral courage, his tireless devotion; these qualities, combined with the fidelity and independence of his official actions during the last four years, have made him the unanimous choice of the National Democratic convention, assembled at St. Louis, Missouri, June 5, 1888.

THE LIFE OF ALLAN G. THURMAN.

[*Democratic Candidate for Vice-President.*]



Hon. Allan G. Thurman, candidate for Vice-President, was born on November 13, 1813, in Lynchburg, Virginia.

His father was the Rev. P. Thurman, and his mother the only daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Allen, of North Carolina, nephew of Joseph Hewes, one

of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

In 1819 the parents of Allan Thurman moved to Chillicothe, Ohio, where Allan received his education and made his home until 1853, when he moved to Columbus, Ohio, where he has since resided.

He studied law under his uncle, the late William Allen, who represented Ohio in the United States Senate for many years, and afterwards was Governor of Ohio. He afterwards studied law with Noah H. Swayne, who was, later on, one of the Justices of the United States Supreme Court.

Much of the expense incurred while studying law was met by his work in surveying land. His mother was a gifted and cultured lady, who did much for the training of her son, guiding his studies and readings until his admission to the bar, Allan in turn helping his parents and sisters in their support, and continued to do so for nine years after his admission to the bar, remaining unmarried and at home during this time.

There are those who remember of his hard work and ceaseless study, and his tenacity of purpose which he has always shown; he kept up his hard study until long after the graduation of his class-mates, and, until his admission to the bar in 1835, his time was occupied in teaching school and studying, while his vacations were filled by his work of surveying.

In 1835 Allan G. Thurman was admitted to the bar, and it was not long before his standing at the bar was of the best, and his clientage large. The position was gained by hard work, strict attention to business, and an unswerving principle of doing well and thoroughly everything that he undertook.

The bar of no county of Ohio stood better than that of Chillicothe, Ross County, Ohio, yet it was but a few years before this young man stood at the very front of Ross County bar; he was not only connected with nearly every difficult suit in Ross County, but was retained in many important cases in the adjoining counties. Nor were any of his cases neglected; the least important received that thorough attention, pains and study that was given the most important ones. Such zeal and energy was rewarded by placing Thurman at the very head of the bar of Ohio, and in the short period of sixteen years he was found on the Supreme Bench of the State. In 1844 Mr. Thurman was elected to Congress, holding the position for one term.

Declining a renomination, he returned to his practice of law. He continued at the bar until 1851, when, a new constitution for Ohio having been adopted, he was elected to the Ohio Supreme bench, serving as Chief Justice from December, 1854, to February, 1856, refusing a renomination at the close of his term. Judge Thurman's opinions, contained in the Ohio State Reports, are noted for their clearness and accuracy. No man who ever sat on the Bench of Ohio gained greater honor for learned and unbiased decisions.

Judge Thurman is a man who never sought public office—the office sought the man. In 1866 the Republican party of Ohio had a majority of over 40,000; the Democratic party had little hopes of overcoming this large majority, but decided in 1867 that if any man in their party was equal to the emergency, that man was Judge Thurman, and he was unanimously nominated for the governorship. Such a call he could not refuse. He entered the strife with earnestness, a characteristic of the man; the struggle was one of the most remarkable in Ohio politics. The issue in that campaign was, whether the Constitution of Ohio should be amended so as to permit of negro suffrage. The Republicans being for, the Democrats against such a measure. Although Mr. Thurman was defeated, he succeeded, by his management of the campaign and his own public speeches, in reducing the Republican majority of over 40,000 in 1866 to about 3,000. Although himself defeated, yet he won for his party not only a majority of over fifty thousand votes against the amendment, but he secured a majority for his party of the assembly and, as a reward for his services, that body elected Judge Thurman, United States Senator for the term of 1869 to 1875.

He entered the Senate March 4, 1869, and was at once a power, and leader of his party. He was a leading member

of the Judiciary Committee, and also served on the Committee of Post-Offices, and Post Roads. He was also President *pro tem.* of the Senate during Vice-President Wheeler's illness. In 1872 Ohio was carried by the Republicans with a majority of nearly 40,000, though this was a decrease of about 2,500 from previous votes. Judge Thurman looked the situation over carefully in 1874, and decided that his party had a fighting chance.

As before, he entered the strife with zeal and gave the party the benefit of over one hundred speeches, and the result was a victory, complete, for his party as well as himself, as he was returned to the Senate for another term, 1875 to 1881.

While in the Senate, Judge Thurman introduced many useful messages, among them the noted "Thurman Act," relating to the Pacific railroads, by which over one hundred millions of dollars were saved to the people. This measure was, of course, bitterly opposed by the railroads, and they used every means possible to defeat it.

The bill was thought to be unconstitutional, but Mr. Thurman strongly claimed its constitutionality, and his claim was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. It may be said here that Senator Edmunds, a great friend of Thurman, assisted in the preparation of the "Thurman Act."

The main feature of this "Act" provides that the railroads having land grants, shall pay into the Treasury a certain part of their earnings, for the liquidation of their debts to the Government. The railroad corporations had evidenced an intention to evade payment of their obligations to the Government.

While Judge Thurman was in the Senate the "Geneva Award Bill" was one of the most important bills discussed.

Judge Thurman, Judge Davis, Mr. Conkling, Mr. Edmunds and Stanley Matthews, the leading lawyers in the Senate, stood together on this bill; one of the most noted on the opposite side being Mr. Blaine.

The debates between Mr. Blaine and Judge Thurman were the strongest made, and were sharp and hotly contested, at times approaching bitterness.

Judge Thurman's retirement from the Senate in 1881 was a great loss to his party, as well as to the whole body. Mr. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years in Congress," speaks of his retirement as follows:

"His rank in the Senate was established from the very day he took his seat, and was never lowered during his period of service. He was an admirably disciplined debater, was fair in his methods of statement, logical in his argument, honest in his conclusion; he had no tricks in discussion, no catch phrases to secure attention, but was always direct and manly. * * * His retirement from the Senate was a serious loss to his party—a loss, indeed to the body."

We shall not be able in this sketch to go over all the work of this man in the senate, but, as may be supposed, his power and influence were great, and he was recognized and admitted to be the leading spirit on his side of the senate, and no one of any party for a moment questioned his acts or sincerity of purpose.

So prominent had this man become that long before the time for the National Democratic convention of 1876, his name was spoken of all over the country as the man who should be nominated for President at that convention.

The cause of Judge Thurman's not being returned to the senate for a third time was the same reason that he was not

nominated for President in 1876, the opposition of party faction in his State.

Again in 1880 there was another call for his nomination. The Democratic State convention of Ohio adopted resolutions in his favor, and, the convention held at Cincinnati, Ohio, gave her entire vote to Thurman with a fair support from other States. Ohio being a strong Republican State, and that the Republican party a few weeks before had nominated James A. Garfield, of Ohio, for their candidate, was probably the cause of Thurman not receiving the majority of the votes, which were given to Gen. Winfield S. Hancock. In 1881 President Garfield, a warm friend of Judge Thurman, appointed him a representative of the American Government to the international congress held at Paris. He had always desired to make a trip to Europe, and taking advantage of this opportunity, sailed from New York, April 6, 1881; he visited Scotland, France, Switzerland and England, returning in the following October.

Soon after his return from Europe he argued two important cases in the Supreme Court of the United States, one of which involved the title to a vast amount of mining property in Colorado, aggregating in value many millions of dollars. Following closely upon this he was selected, with Chief Justice Cooley, of Michigan, and Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, ex-Minister to France, to serve upon an advisory commission in the troubles as to differential rates between the trunk railroads leading from the Atlantic sea-board to the West. He has been living in retirement ever since, his only active service until recently being in the capacity of attorney for the Government in its suits against the Bell Telephone Company. His last appearance before the pub-

lie was as principal counsel of the United States in the famous tally-sheet forgery cases of Franklin County.

Judge Thurman is one of the most thorough scholars in public life in this country. Always a student, he became early in life a great lawyer, and since then has devoted much time to lighter study. He is a fine French scholar, and his favorite books are the works of the earlier French dramatists, which he reads in the original. He has an unusually large and well selected library, and there are few books in the range of polite literature that he is not familiar with. He has a literal genius for mathematics, and frequently occupies himself in working out the most abstruse and intricate problems. He had no collegiate training, and has no diploma save the certificate of a grammar school.

It has been the desire of Judge Thurman, in late years, to be allowed to remain in private life, but from time to time he has been brought forward as the most desirable man for important positions. In 1884 he was sent as delegate at large from Ohio to the Democratic convention in Chicago, and no Democrat in that convention received more attention, or was the object of more interest. His parlors at the Palmer House were thronged with callers, eager to see and shake hands with the "Old Roman," who stood in the center of the room, red bandana in hand, the cynosure of all admiring eyes. Faction opposition of his State again prevented his nomination. On his return to Columbus, reaching there at midnight, he was escorted to his home by a large assemblage of his fellow-citizens, who had met him at the depot.

It was expected that he would be named for a cabinet position, in recognition of his great service, but, although he was not, he never murmured or complained. To those who have watched his public career, it is no wonder that he

was chosen at St. Louis as candidate for Vice-President in June, 1888. His request for private life was not heeded; he is needed, and has been called forth. Indiana expected this honor would go to their favorite son, Governor Gray, but it was learned, just before the convention convened, that Judge Thurman would accept the nomination, it being desired by President Cleveland, and almost the unanimous wish of the Democratic party.

On the third day of the convention, the resolutions all having been disposed of, the convention proceeded to the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President. When California was called in the list of States, Mr. Tarpey was introduced, and proceeded to nominate Allan G. Thurman, of Ohio. Mr. Tarpey spoke as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: This is indeed a most pleasant duty which, through the kindness of my friends, I have been chosen to perform, and I am truly grateful to my associates who have so honored me. I feel that it was kindness alone and not ability that prompted my selection from the many eloquent gentlemen who are members of the California delegation. But, sirs, what I lack in oratorical ability, I, in some small measure, compensate for in my enthusiasm in the undertaking, and feeling as I do that the most eloquent must fall short of doing full justice to the gentleman whom I am here to nominate, I have accepted the trust with the mental reservation that if nothing else, I am at least earnest in what I say and filled with admiration for him of whom I speak. That I am proud of the privilege of addressing you I acknowledge, but that I am prouder still of the man whom I shall name I shall not deny, for I feel, sirs, that this Republic holds no superior to Hon. Allan G. Thurman, of Ohio. The greeting accorded his name is a well-deserved tribute. Its spontaniety has been nobly earned. Be assured such a greeting will be accorded his name at its every mention throughout this Republic, from sea to sea, and from the British line to the gulf.

Allan G. Thurman—what an epitome of American civil history is embodied in that name! His character and ability are known to every man, woman and child in the land. His public services will be a more enduring monument than temples of stone or brass. History for history will inscribe his name among the list of America's illustrious sons

Taking his seat in the United States Senate in 1869, the imprint of his genius is found deeply imbedded in the legislation of the country. From his first appearance in the Senate until his retirement from that body his voice was always raised in behalf of the people and in defense of their rights. For forty years he has been a prominent figure in public life, and yet to-day no man can point to a single act or expression of his which does not do him credit. Large at heart, large of brain and larger still in experience, he is the man of all men whose record justifies his nomination at your hands in the sense that he cannot be defeated before the people. A man of benevolent heart manifesting itself not only in private life, but it has been the leading feature of his official career. When the Pacific coast was endeavoring to retard Chinese immigration, when it had decided that National legislation was necessary to accomplish the desired result, when the merits of the subject were not understood east of the Rocky Mountains, Allan G. Thurman, then a Senator of the United States, was the first to raise his voice in defense of those whose means of living were in danger, and whose homes were threatened with destruction. When the great railroad corporations evidenced an intention to evade payment of their obligations to the Government this great man prepared that remarkable enactment known as the Thurman bill, by which the offending corporations were obliged to provide a sinking fund for the redemption of their promises. During the trying times of reconstruction, Mr. Thurman was the central figure in the United States Senate in upholding the dignity and the integrity of the constitution. The waves of party passion, lashed into fury by ill-advised jealous partisans, broke harmless upon his leonine front and were settled back into calmness by the force of his logic and the power of his oratory. A ripe scholar, his disquisitions upon constitutional laws are master-pieces of reasoning and eloquence, challenging the admiration of even his political opponents. Four years since the California delegation put forward Mr. Thurman as their candidate for the Presidency, and were enthusiastic in pushing his nomination. These four years have but augmented their reverence and affection for him. The patriot of Columbus cannot be allowed to wither in retirement. His fame is not his alone, it is the proud heritage of the American people. His name may be most fittingly coupled with that of our honored President, Grover Cleveland. Cleveland and Thurman will be a ticket absolutely invincible. It will sweep the country with a mighty rush, a tidal wave of approval. Against it all opposition will be fruitless. The approval of Cleveland's administration during the past four years and indorsement of his actions, the simplicity yet remarkable ability with

which he has administered his great trust under the most trying circumstances, coupled with the all pervading affection felt for the philosopher of Columbus, will make Cleveland and Thurman a war-cry to affright the political enemy. The enthusiasm which will be aroused upon its announcement will be infectious and, gathering force and volume day by day, it will before the *ides* of November have become an epidemic.

That the name of Allan G. Thurman should be cheered to the echo in this hall is not strange, for it brings the warm blood of gratitude surging to the heart of every fireside, and the testimonials which the people will surely pay to his worth at the coming November election will be convincing proof of his phenomenal popularity.

Indiana honors Governor Gray by supporting him for the nomination; Illinois is doing the same for General Black; Michigan for Dickinson; Wisconsin for Vilas; good men and true, each and all of them, and were it not for the self-sacrificing patriotism of Mr. Thurman, in response to the almost unanimous wish of the party, to permit his name to come before you, it were difficult indeed to choose between such meritorious and able gentlemen. Their names are fit to grace this or any other ticket. They are each the favorite sons of their respective States; but when Allan G. Thurman, the favorite son of each and every State in this Union, in answer to the universal demand for his acceptance, consents to leave the peace and tranquility of his fireside and again serve his grateful countrymen, so prominent, so colossal is his political and mental figure in the public eye that all others must of necessity shade in its immensity.

Let no mistakes be made at this time — mistakes are crimes. If you but do your duty, if you but give the people what they expect, what they demand, the contest of parties, instead of just commencing, will be practically ended. For the great electoral and popular majorities which Cleveland and Thurman will surely receive at the polls will be a revelation even to ourselves. As Representatives of the Democracy of the Nation we have a duty to perform. We must nominate the man the people have already nominated. We have but to indorse the popular verdict. No less will be accepted at your hands. Let no consideration of personal friendship or glamour of locality influence your action. Personal friendship can not be repaid by nomination where a great party's interest and future are at stake. No trifling with great concerns of State should be tolerated; no expression of local pride can be admitted to influence action. When the sovereign people speak they must be taken. The man of the Nation, not the man of the State, must be nominated.

Nominate Allan G. Thurman, nominate him by acclamation. Let it not be said that one single Democrat in all this great Union fall in this great testimonial to the greatest American of his day, the noblest breathing man upon American soil, fit consort in the temple of fame of those patriots of the past—the founders of our institution, whose sacred dust lie calmly sleeping beneath the sods of Mount Vernon, Monticello and the Hermitage, awaiting the dedication of our National pantheon.

Indiana presented Gov. Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana, and Illinois presented the name of Gen. John C. Black.

THURMAN NOMINATED.

The clerk read the names of the three candidates: Thurman, of Ohio; Gray, of Indiana, and Black, of Illinois. At 1:35, amid the greatest excitement, the voting began on roll-call of States. Alabama opened the ballot by casting 15 votes for Thurman, 4 for Gray, and 1 for Black. Georgia gave 19 votes for Gray and 9 for Thurman, putting him away in the lead. Indiana voted solid for Gray, and Iowa asked to be passed. Kansas gave Black 2, Gray 2, and Thurman 14. Louisiana voted solidly for the old Roman, as did also Maine and Maryland. Massachusetts divided her vote, and Mississippi stood solid for Thurman. Missouri voted 4 for Gray, 28 for Thurman, and New Jersey followed with her whole vote for the old Roman. A courier for New York's gift of 72 votes came a moment later. This nominated Thurman, but Pennsylvania's 60 votes clinched his success. When Pennsylvania cast her 60 electoral votes for Allan G. Thurman, and it was apparent that he was the nominee, the wild scene which attended President Cleveland's re-nomination, Wednesday, was re-enacted in all its vigor and wild enthusiasm. The bands were drowned, and Indiana was the first to send her standard to the stage with the crimson bandana on top of the staff. It was wildly waved by Hon. Dan. Voorhees, the Tall Sycamore. The

other standard-bearers rallied round him, waving their banners in a galaxy of colors, agitating the atmosphere already stirred into a million conflicting waves by the frantic, thunderous cheers of the excited delegates, who stood upon their chairs and howled with intense excitement. The Gray men waved bandanas as fiercely and fervently as the most passionate of Ohio's sons, and for half an hour perfect pandemonium reigned. The demonstration lasted for about ten minutes. After something like order had been restored, the calling of States was proceeded with, but before it was completed Mr. Patterson, of Colorado, moved that Thurman's nomination be made unanimous, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Shanklin, of Indiana, in an earnest speech. The motion was agreed to, and the nomination made unanimous.

THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN HARRISON.

[*Republican Candidate for President.*]



The history of Benjamin Harrison and his ancestors is full of action and interest.

The Harrison family can date their history back to the middle of the seventeenth century, when Major-General John Harrison was commissioned to take Charles I. to Windsor for trial, and later sat as one of the Judges in the trial of Charles I., and with Scott, Martyn, Ireton and

three others, drew up and signed the warrant on January 25, 1649, that consigned that unfortunate monarch to the gibbet. Upon the accession of Charles II. to the throne he in turn executed the Judges and executioners of his predecessor, John Harrison among the rest the executions being signalized by their brutal ferocity.

The descendants of two of these, the Harrisons and the Okeys, contributed largely to the great names which grace the pages of Ohio's history. The immediate descendants of

the unlucky Cromwellian General hid themselves from England to America, settling in Virginia. The next member of the family that appears in history was Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia.

Senator Harrison's great-grandfather, Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and was prominent in public affairs from 1774 until his death in 1791, being for four years a member of Congress and three times Governor of Virginia. He entered upon his public career in 1774, soon after reaching his majority, as a delegate to the Williamsburg convention.

This Benjamin, brother-in-law of the Randolphs, was the athletic member of the Continental congress who, when John Hancock was chosen its president and showed some diffidence about taking his seat, lifted the little man bodily into the chair, exclaiming, "We will show Mother Britain how little we care for her by making a Massachusetts man our president whom she has excluded from pardon by a public proclamation."

Gen. William Henry Harrison, his son, served his country almost continuously from 1791 to 1841, both in military and civil positions. He fought the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, was a member of Congress, a United States Senator from Ohio, Minister to the Republic of Colombia, and for one month (March 4 to April 4, 1841, when he died), President of the United States.

He had three sons, John Scott Harrison, William Henry Harrison, who died without issue, and Randolph Harrison, who died some years ago near Hamilton, Ohio, and whose daughter married Colonel D. W. McClung, Collector of Port, of Cincinnati, appointed by President Garfield.

John Scott Harrison, the son of William Henry Harrison, and the father of the subject of this sketch, was all his life

a farmer in southern Ohio. He served four years in Congress, from 1852 to 1856, as a member from the Cincinnati district. He died about twelve years ago.

His son, Benjamin Harrison, the Republican party's nominee for President, is a man slightly under the medium height. His figure, however, is very broad and compact. His large head is set well down between his broad, high shoulders, as his neck is very short. His face is of an almost deadly pallor, although he enjoys excellent health. His eyes are a grayish-blue, deeply set under a very prominent, bulging forehead. His nose is straight, slightly curving outward, and square at the end. His thin-lipped mouth is shaded by a very light, long, curling mustache, while the lower part of his face is hidden in a long, sandy, gray beard. The hair upon his head is of the same color, and is combed very smoothly tight to his head, so as to show plainly the outline of the skull. He always dresses plainly in black. He is a reserved man, and keeps much to himself. He is domestic in his habits, and thoroughly devoted to his handsome, delicate-featured, black-eyed wife, who began with him a struggle for a place and a home in the then Far West when he was only 20 years of age. Those who know Mr. Harrison, however, say that he is a devoted friend, and that underneath his reserve he has a most kindly heart.

General Harrison was born at North Bend, Hamilton County, O., the 20th of August, 1833. His life, up to the time of his graduation from the Miami University, at Oxford, in that State, was the comparatively uneventful one of a country lad belonging to a family of small means. His father was able to give him a good education and nothing more. He graduated from college when he was eighteen years of age, standing fourth in a class of sixteen, having entered two years before as a member of the junior

class,—his teachers and classmates have borne testimony to the ease with which he held his own in all college contests and his early promise of future success. Prof. David Swing, who was in college at the time, says that Harrison, while at Oxford, though young, was a studious scholar, and early gave evidence of being foremost in whatever he might undertake. He there acquired the habits of study and mental discipline which have characterized him through life, enabling him to grapple with any subject on short notice, to concentrate his intellectual forces and give his mental energies that sort of direct and effective operation that indicates the trained and disciplined mind. While in college he became a member of the Phi Delta Theta fraternity, in which he still takes an active interest. He became engaged while at college to the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Scott, Principal of a female school at Oxford, O. After graduating he decided to enter upon the study of the law. He went to Cincinnati and studied there in the office of the Hon. Bellamy S. Storer for two years. At the expiration of that time Mr. Harrison received the only inheritance of his life. His aunt, dying, left him a lot in Cincinnati, which was valued at \$800. Young Harrison regarded this legacy as a fortune. He decided to be married at once, to take this money, go to some Western town, and begin the practice of law—he having been admitted to the bar in this year. There was, however, one difficulty in his way. He was not yet 21, and could not, therefore, execute a deed of sale for the lot. But he found a Cincinnati friend who was willing to go on a bond to guarantee that he would execute a deed when he reached his majority; and so, with this guarantee, the sale was made. With \$800 in his pocket he started out, with a young wife upon his arm, to fight for a place in the world

and a footing in one of the most difficult of the learned professions. He decided to go to Indianapolis, which was even at that time (1854) a town of promise. He met with but little encouragement at first. The work he obtained during the first year amounted to almost nothing. But the \$800 carried the young couple through their first year. By the time the second year was reached Harrison began to make enough through collections and trial cases before Justices of the Peace to support himself and family.

During the next few years the young lawyer gradually obtained a firm professional foothold, becoming known as a vigorous, painstaking attorney and an eloquent advocate. His energy and application are shown by the following incident: Many years ago, before he had attained prominence in his profession, he was appointed to prosecute a negro charged with attempting wholesale murder by putting poison into the coffee at a hotel; he had only one night in which to prepare for the trial, besides having had no experience in poison cases and no knowledge of poisons. He called to his aid Dr. T. Parvin (who has since become as distinguished in his profession as General Harrison has in his), and the two young men spent the whole night in diligent work on the poison case. The next day, to the astonishment and bewilderment of the defense, young Harrison appeared ready for trial. He conducted the prosecution vigorously and succeeded in having the prisoner convicted.

General Harrison began his work as a Republican speaker in the great campaign of 1856, and ever since he has been a conspicuous figure in every campaign in Indiana, and on many occasions he has appeared for his party in other States. It is remembered that in the Lincoln campaign of 1860, he and the late Vice-President Hendricks happened to

have appointments to speak in the same town on the same day. It was arranged that they should divide time, and Mr. Hendricks expected to amuse himself by devouring the white-haired young man who thus unexpectedly became his prey. He did not do it; the result of the meeting being a surprise to both sides. Democrats admitted that Mr. Hendricks had met his match, and Republicans thought he was badly worsted. The chairman of the meeting afterward said: "I have heard a good many political debates in my day, but I never heard a man skin an opponent as quickly as Ben Harrison did Hendricks on this occasion."

LEAVING THE COURT ROOM FOR THE CAMP.

In 1860, at the age of twenty-seven years, he was elected Reporter of the Supreme Court of Indiana for four years, and it was during the same year that he formed a partnership with W. P. Fishback, who was with him in college. In 1862, when the Union armies had met with reverses in the South, and volunteers had in a measure ceased to offer themselves, Gen. Harrison abandoned the quiet and lucrative occupation of his office to another, and, leaving a young wife and infant children, he obtained a lieutenant's commission, went into camp with Company A, of the 70th Indiana Regiment, and in less than thirty days led to the front a regiment of 1,010 fighting men. The regiment served in Kentucky and Tennessee with the Army of the Cumberland; during the Atlanta campaign it was attached to the Twentieth Army Corps, "Fighting Joe" Hooker's command, General Harrison taking the place of General Butterfield, as brigade commander. The reports of his superiors bear record of his courage and fighting qualities at the battles of Resaca and Peach Tree Creek.

General Hooker rode the lines the day after Peach Tree Creek and, as he shook hands with the young commander, said: "Harrison, by — I'll make you a brigadier-general for this fight," and his word of mouth on the battlefield was supplemented by a hearty letter of commendation written to the Secretary of War a few months later. The fact that he has always been highly esteemed by the officers and men who served under him, is high testimony to General Harrison's character as a soldier and commander. While on temporary leave to visit his family, General Harrison was cut off from immediate return to Atlanta by the rebel invasion of Tennessee and Northern Georgia; he took command of a brigade at Nashville, however, and led in the bloody battles about that place, and under General George H. Thomas — one of the finest figures of the war — aided in defeating Hood and putting his army to flight. Called home to the bedside of his two children, who were stricken with scarlet fever, General Harrison was attacked by the disease in a malignant form; after barely escaping a fatal termination of the fever he rejoined his regiment in North Carolina, and remained with Sherman's army until the close of the war, returning to his home a brevet brigadier-general.

In the fall of 1864 General Harrison was re-elected Reporter of the Indiana Supreme Court, and in the same year became a member of the law firm of Porter, Harrison & Fishback. Porter (Albert G.) was elected Governor of Indiana in 1880. In 1876 General Harrison was the Republican candidate for Governor. He was averse to accepting the nomination, but he made such a gallant fight as to win the admiration of the country. He led his ticket by 2,000 votes, and won more fame in defeat than many leaders have gained by victory. In 1879 or 1880 he aided the Federal

Government in prosecuting certain Democratic conspirators for importing ballot-box stuffers into Southern Indiana; their leader was convicted and was sentenced to the penitentiary.

HIS CAREER IN THE SENATE.

In January, 1881, General Harrison was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Joseph E. McDonald (Dem.)

His term of six years as Senator of the United States established General Harrison's reputation as a sound and enlightened statesman, and a ready, finished, and powerful debater. The more his record in the Senate is studied, the clearer appears his claim to a high place among law-makers. His Dakota report and speeches, his speech on the Edmunds resolution concerning Civil Service reform, his speech condemning the wholesale immigration of contract labor, and his speeches against alien ownership of large tracts of the National domain indicate the broad lines along which his activities manifested themselves. His record on the Chinese question needs nothing more than this simple statement to show the folly of those who once distrusted him on that score: When the first Chinese bill was before the Senate he opposed certain features of it, because he thought they were in conflict with the provisions of existing treaties; but he moved to amend those portions of the bill so that they might be in accord with his view of the treaties mentioned. Those who were in favor of the bill steadily voted the amendments down, and in order to maintain his consistency General Harrison was thus obliged to vote against the bill, which finally passed over the President's veto. When the next Chinese bill was before the Senate, General Harrison was absent and did not get a chance to vote upon it. When the next bill came before the Senate — the one commonly

called the Page bill—it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which he was then a member. That committee unanimously voted to report the bill favorably, General Harrison voting with the other members of the committee. When it came before the Senate it was passed, General Harrison voting for it. Mr. Fair said in the Senate that “this was by all means the best Chinese bill which had been proposed,” and otherwise spoke in high terms of the bill. Thus General Harrison was from first to last in favor of the principle underlying the Chinese legislation.

ALWAYS FAITHFUL TO THE CAUSE OF HONEST MONEY.

One of General Harrison's strongest titles to public respect and admiration is found in the fact that when the inflation craze spread over the country and swept from their moorings many who have since lived to regret their infatuation, he never wavered in his fidelity to the cause of honest money. His position on the question of Civil Service reform is indicated by the following sentences from the speech with which he opened the Indiana campaign of 1882: “I want to assure you to-night that I am an advocate of Civil Service reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me often to utter the wish with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be forever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens, and long to be able to give my time and energy solely to those public affairs that legitimately relate to the honorable trust which you have committed to me.” In the course of the same speech, in speaking of those who took no part in the war, yet make a strong claim of being the soldiers' friend, General Harrison gave utterance to these earnest words:

"The man who lived through the War of the Rebellion and did not make some sacrifice for the success of the Union armies—who did not say one brave word, nor do one brave thing, when, with bare and bleeding breasts, our soldiers looked into the face of death for their country — can never be enshrined as the soldiers' friend."

General Harrison's term in the Senate expired March 4, 1887, and the Legislature to choose his successor was to be elected in the fall of 1886. "The history of the campaign," says *The Indianapolis Journal*, "is still fresh in the minds of the people. It was in a large degree General Harrison's campaign. Though others were good seconds and able assistants he was foremost in the fight. When others wavered he advanced, when they lost heart he expressed confidence; he was almost the only prominent Republican in Indiana who felt confident of carrying the State, or who thought it worth while even to attempt to carry the Legislature. This is no disparagement of other Republican leaders, who did yeoman service in the campaign, but it is a fact. The result attested General Harrison's wisdom and his work, the Republicans carried the State and came within a hair's breadth of carrying the Legislature."

HIS RETURN TO THE BAR.

Upon his retirement from public life last year, General Harrison once more devoted himself heart and soul to the laborious but congenial duties of his profession. Of General Harrison as a lawyer in the full maturity of his powers his old partner, the Hon. W. P. Fishback, says: "He possesses all the qualities of a great lawyer in rare combination. He prepares a case with consummate skill; his written pleadings are models of clearness and brevity; he is peerless in

Indiana as an examiner of witnesses; he discusses a legal question in a written brief or an oral argument with convincing logic, and as an advocate it may be said of him that when he has finished an address to a jury nothing remains to be said on that side of the case. I have often heard able lawyers in Indiana and elsewhere say that he was the hardest man to follow they had ever met; no lawyer who ever met General Harrison in a legal encounter has afterward placed a small estimate upon his ability."

Senator Benjamin Harrison is a very religious man. He is a constant attendant at the Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis, and for many years had a Bible class composed entirely of lawyers, and his dissertations were said to have been remarkably clear. President Harrison was a great believer in churches, and Scott, his son, the father of Benjamin, was a constant attendant and pillar of the church at Cleves. The entire Harrison family have a decided tendency toward a due observance of their religious duties.

Gen. Harrison is not rich. His law practice is large, but he appears disinclined to set his fees high enough to meet the modern standard. He owns a handsome house in Indianapolis, where his wife, who was a daughter of Prof. Scott, of Oxford, O., receives much company. They have a married daughter, and a son, Russell, who is becoming prominent in the politics of Montana Territory. General Harrison is a member of the Indianapolis Literary Club, and occasionally takes part in its debates and exercises.

As has been said, he is pre-eminently a lawyer. Politics is a side issue with him, but when he practices politics he practices as he does the law, with all his might.

In his private life and personal character Gen. Harrison has the good fortune to be unassailable. Neither political opposition nor personal malice has ever dared to attack him

in this regard. His character as a citizen, neighbor, and friend is invulnerable.

The Republican National Convention assembled at Chicago on June 19, and completed its work the evening of June 25th, by the nomination of Gen. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, for President, and the Hon. Levi Parsons Morton, of New York, for Vice-President. General Harrison was nominated on the eighth ballot.

The following is a summary of the ballots for Presidential nominees :

CANDIDATES.	Ballots June 22.		Ballots June 23.			Ballots June 25.		
	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.	8th.
HARRISON	80	91	94	217	213	231	278	544
SHERMAN.....	229	249	244	235	224	244	231	118
ALGER	84	116	122	135	142	137	120	100
GRESHAM.....	111	108	123	98	87	91	91	59
ALLISON.....	72	75	88	88	99	73	76	W'n.
DEPEW	99	99	91	Withdrawn.				
RUSK	25	20	16	—	—	—	—	—
PHELPS	25	18	5	—	—	—	—	—
INGALLS.....	28	16	Withdrawn.					
HAWLEY	13	W'dwn						
FITLER	24	W'dwn						
McKINLEY	2	3	8	11	14	12	16	4
LINCOLN	3	2	2	1	—	—	2	—
MILLER	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
DOUGLASS	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
FORAKER	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—
GRANT	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
HAYMOND.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
BLAINE	35	33	35	42	48	40	15	5
Total vote.....	830	830	830	829	827	830	831	830
Necessary for choice.....	416	416	416	415	414	416	416	416

THE LIFE OF LEVI PARSONS MORTON.

[Republican Candidate for Vice-President.]



Levi Parsons Morton, the Republican candidate for Vice-President, was born at Shoreham, Vt., on May 16, 1824. His father was the Rev. Daniel O. Morton, a Congregational minister and a lineal descendant of George Morton, who came to this country from England in the ship *Ann* in 1623. The Rev. Mr. Morton received

only \$600 salary a year, and therefore could give his son only a common school education. His parents were of old New England stock, and, although they were thrifty, as was the character of New Englanders, they did not accumulate much wealth.

The boy early left school and began his business life as a clerk in a Concord, N. H., dry goods store, but not until his constitution, physical and mental, had been established by the best of home influences. He applied himself so closely to his duties and developed a capacity for business that he

soon gained the confidence of his employers and was rapidly advanced in his position.

When twenty-one, he set up in business for himself, opening a dry goods store in Concord; four years later, in 1849, he moved to Boston and became a member of the dry goods firm of Beebe, Morton & Co. His connection with this firm continued until 1854, when he moved to New York and founded the dry goods house of Morton & Grinnell. This firm became financially involved at the beginning of the war, and compromised with its creditors at fifty cents on the dollar.

HIS SUCCESSFUL CAREER AS A BANKER.

Mr. Morton, not in the least discouraged, established a banking house in 1863. He made money rapidly, and soon attained prominence in financial circles. One day the late creditors of the firm of Morton & Grinnell received an invitation from Mr. Morton, to dine with him. When they sat down at dinner each man found beneath his plate a check signed by Mr. Morton for an amount of money that paid their claim in full with interest. Mr. Morton was not legally bound to pay the money, and his honorable conduct in the matter, therefore, won him many friends. In 1868 George Bliss entered the firm, and it became known by its present title of Morton, Bliss & Co. The same year, 1868, Mr. Morton founded the London house, of Morton, Rose & Co., his leading partner being Sir John Rose, some time Finance Minister of Canada.

The two firms took a leading position as members of the syndicate that negotiated United States bonds in payment of the Geneva award of \$15,000,000 and the Halifax fishery award of \$5,500,000.

These two banking houses were also largely instrumental in making possible resumption of specie payment in the

United States, and in enabling the Government to fund the United States debt. The syndicate formed for this purpose was headed by Morton, Bliss & Co., and then followed the names of Drexel, Morgan & Co., Baring Brothers & Co., J. S. Morgan & Co., Jay Cooke & Co., N. M. Rothschild & Sons, and Jay Cook, McCulloch & Co. The credit of the Government was low at that time, but the firms named above successfully floated a large issue of 5 per cent. bonds, thus decreasing the rate of interest on the mass of the bonds. It has been estimated that the various banking firms by their action at this time saved the Government \$70,000,000. The firm of Morton, Bliss & Co. has since been one of the most conspicuous in Wall Street. One of its most noted achievements was the sale of \$50,000,000 of New York Central Railroad stock belonging to William H. Vanderbilt to English purchasers, the firm being part of a syndicate which accomplished this task.

TAKING A COMMANDING PLACE IN CONGRESS.

Mr. Morton entered into political life in 1876. Late in the canvass, much to his surprise, the Republicans of the XIth Congressional District nominated him as their candidate. There was not sufficient time to make a thorough canvass, and Mr. Morton was defeated, although he reduced the usual Democratic majority 400 votes. Mr. Morton courageously ran again for Congress in the same district in 1878, and this time was elected, receiving a majority that exceeded the whole vote of his opponent. As a member of Congress he took a commanding position whenever financial questions were under consideration; he strongly opposed the bill providing for the unlimited coinage of silver dollars, and his influence had a great effect in defeating it. At the extra session in 1879 he made two

speeches on the silver question, which convinced the country that he was a master of the complicated laws of finance. Without any effort at oratorical display, he made felt the weight of an unblemished reputation, a frank, straightforward character, and of sound views, which he expressed in the fewest, tersest words. His course in Congress was marked by independence of judgment and moderation, and he won the confidence and attachment of men of both parties. His social position in Washington was a brilliant one; he bought the house of Samuel Hooper, of Massachusetts, and there entertained many guests.

He was re-elected in 1880. During his service in the House of Representatives Mr. Morton was known as a careful and conservative thinker on all public questions, and his opinions were much respected by his fellow members. In the Republican National Convention of 1880, Mr. Morton was a staunch ally of Roscoe Conkling, an advocate of the renomination of Gen. Grant for a third term to the Presidency. When the split came and President Garfield was nominated, Mr. Morton was offered the second place on the ticket; he declined the honor, and after the triumphant success of the ticket President Garfield offered him the portfolio of Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Morton also declined the Cabinet offer, saying he preferred to accept the appointment of Minister to France, in which office he was confirmed by the Senate soon after President Garfield was inaugurated. Mr. Morton's career as representative of the American Government to the French Republic was one of which he may justly feel proud.

Mr. Morton's business relations had taken him many times to Europe. He was well acquainted with Paris. His first step was to remove the American Legation offices to a more suitable place. They were situated over a laundry

and a grocery store. He hired a fine mansion for the United States, assuming some financial risk. The house was in a good neighborhood, and it quickly became the one place in Paris where the leading politicians of France, Royalist, Republican and Radical, could socially meet. The diplomacy of the United States was much smoothed by it.

No American Minister was ever more respected abroad. Mr. Morton was able to secure from the French Cabinet a rescinding of the prohibitory edict against the American hog, but the House of Deputies insisted upon the retention of the law. Mr. Morton hammered the first nail in the construction of the Statue of Liberty, recently erected in New York, and delivered a speech on June 15, 1884, accepting the statue in behalf of the American Government. He was present at the unveiling of the Statue of LaFayette, at Le Puf, the birthplace of the French patriot. Through Mr. Morton's acquaintance with bankers and manufacturers, the commercial relations of France and the United States were made to run smoothly throughout his term. With the coming into power of a Democratic Administration at Washington, he of course returned home, and since then has held no office.

Mr. Morton made his exit from his post in Paris, in a graceful, dignified and pleasant manner. He had been a very popular Minister, and all who had met him, in official or social life, were sorry to have him go. He was extremely obliging, was glad to promote any American cause or interest, and generally showed great tact in his official and social relations. He also showed an American capacity for getting quickly posted, taking soundings and acting according to them,

HIS MANIFOLD CHARITIES.

Mr. Morton's manifold charities, his benevolent disposition, and his efforts on behalf of others are well known to his friends, though the world at large has not heard much of them. In 1880, Congress, moved by the suffering in Ireland, placed the ship *Constellation* at the disposal of any one willing to send relief to that afflicted land. Some weeks afterward Mr. Morton learned that no offer had been made to load the vessel. Thereupon he addressed a letter to *The Herald*, in which he said: "You are authorized to announce that a gentleman known to you, who declines to have his name made public, offers to pay for one-quarter of the cargo of the *Constellation* if other parties will make up the balance." At the same time he had determined to furnish the entire cargo if there was any delay in securing other aid. The proprietor of *The Herald*, however, and W. B. Grace contributed each one-quarter, and other gentlemen furnished the remainder. The people of this city will probably recall the Rockaway Beach Improvement troubles in the summer of 1880, when 500 workmen were unable to obtain their wages because of the financial ruin in which the gigantic hotel enterprise had been involved. Certificates of indebtedness were issued to the workmen, but they were useless to the men, who needed food for their wives and children. At this juncture Mr. Morton joined the house of Drexel, Morgan & Co., and each contributed \$50,000 for the relief of the workingmen. They paid the full amount of the certificates and declined to accept any discount.

In 1885 he gave to Dartmouth College a house and lot near Rollins Chapel, for which he paid \$7,500. The gift was for the purpose of enabling the college to erect an art gallery and museum. When Mr. Morton was made

Minister to France, Dartmouth conferred on him the degree of LL. D.

Mr. Morton was heartily in favor of the oleomargarine laws passed by the Legislature of New York, in 1884, 1885 and 1886. In a letter written by him in the latter year, he said: "I am heartily in accord with any proposed legislation that will protect the dairy interest, and I should deem it my duty to earnestly support the passage of any law calculated to suppress fraud in the imitation of products that go into daily consumption, especially those from the dairy, in which industry so large a number of our people are engaged. I believe that after the experience we have had of the operation of the present law, Congress would consider favorably the proposition to make such changes in it as would more effectually prevent the sale of oleomargarine for natural butter in the future."

HIS CITY HOME.

Mr. Morton's home, at No. 85 Fifth avenue, New York city, is a large brown-stone, double house, with a large door-way and a broad hall running through the centre to a dining-room at the back. On the wall of the hall to the right one sees an excellent portrait of President Garfield; while on the left is one of Benjamin Constant's famous oil paintings, representing the interior of an Oriental dwelling. The parlors of the house are entered from a door at the right hand, and Mr. Morton's library by a door to the left. Beyond, one sees a great stairway winding its way to the upper rooms of the house, and at the end of the hall the glass doors of the dining room. The latter is of a stately character, occupying almost the entire width of the house. Several handsome oil paintings of the French school occupy its walls, and a beautiful

chandelier hangs over the centre table. Beyond the dining room is a large conservatory for flowers. Visitors have usually found Mr. Morton at work in his library. The room is a highly interesting one, owing to its pictures and decorations. While Minister to France Mr. Morton purchased a rare portrait of Washington and another rare one of Lafayette. These hang on the wall, against which his writing desk is placed. Immediately above the desk on the wall is an almost life-size photograph of Gambetta. This picture is one of the most faithful representations of the great French orator ever made. There hangs by the window that looks out into Fifth ave. a portrait of President Arthur, a most excellent likeness. By its side is a photograph of Marshal McMahon and another of the Count de Rochambeau. On another wall there hangs the portraits in oil of Mr. Morton's father, the Rev. Daniel O. Morton, and of his mother's brother, the Rev. Levi Parsons, the first American missionary to Palestine, from whom he obtained his surname. There is also a daguerreotype of the country store in Concord, N. H., in which Mr. Morton began his business life. In front of the grate fire on the floor one sees some interesting historical relics. They are two large spherical iron shells which were thrown into Paris by the German cannon in 1871. Some brass chains connect the two shells and serve as a fender to the fireplace. In the summer he resides at his summer seat Emmersley, at Rhinebeck on the Hudson. His wife, a remarkably beautiful and accomplished woman, is several years his junior. She has always been most popular in society. Levi P. Morton is a typical American and a protectionist to the core.

The Republican National convention assembled in Chicago on June 19, 1888, and on the seventh day, after the nomination of General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, for President,

nominated Levi Parsons Morton, of New York, for Vice-President. Mr. Morton's name was presented by the Hon. Warner Miller, of New York.

Mr. Miller, having ascended the platform, addressed the convention as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The time for platitudes and encomiums has past. We have been in here for nearly a week, during which time we have given to the Republican party and to the American people a platform of principles upon which the great loyal lover of America can stand. It is an American platform from top to bottom. We have to-day put in nomination a representative American, and one whom we can all support without any hesitation or reservation. New York came here, sirs, and sought the suffrages of this convention for its most gifted and brilliant son. It came bringing you assurances of victory in that Empire State if you would name our candidate for President. But when we learned that this convention was not likely to ratify our choice we withdrew him from this convention. We did it in sorrow but not in anger. For many years the Republican party in the State of New York has been wrenched by factional strife in our party. For the first time in almost a generation the delegation from New York, representing thirty-six electoral votes in that State, have come to this convention and have been able to act in absolute harmony and accord. The harmony you have witnessed here on the part of the delegation of the State of New York shall not cease here, gentlemen of the convention. We propose to carry it home with us and to carry it into the contest. * * * *

We have begun to organize victory here to-day, and if you will aid the State of New York in the efforts which it has been making of late, and which have so far succeeded as to bring us so far together—I say if you will aid us in this convention to-day by taking our candidate for Vice-President, I give you our word, one and all, that from this day forward there shall be no stopping of our onward march for victory in that State. Do not forget the situation, gentlemen, wherever you may come from—whether from Texas, or Iowa, or California. Do not forget that this great battle is to be fought out in New York, Mr. President and gentlemen. The Democratic party has thrown down the gauntlet of battle there, and they challenge us to lift it. Do not forget that the present Executive of the United States and the candidate for re-election comes from our State. Do not forget that the two most important Secretaryships, that of the Treasury and of the Navy, are to-day held

by New York Democrats; and you know what that means in this contest. Do not forget that the City Government of our great metropolis is in the hands of the enemy. Do not forget that the State Government is in the hands of the enemy—aye, and it requires the courage of a giant to take up the fight in New York. But we propose to lift the gauntlet of battle, and if you will help us here to-day as you only can help us, we will carry that fight to a successful conclusion. * * * *

I shall spend no time in dwelling upon the virtues or qualifications of our candidate. He is a man who has achieved great success as a business man. He has made an honorable record in the House of Representatives, and he has been one of our foremost representatives in a foreign country. He is known for his liberality by all of our people.

If you will here to-night, name by substantial unanimity our choice, we will go home and we will inscribe upon our banner "American wages for American workmen, American markets for American people, and protection for American homes," and in this sign we cannot be defeated.

In behalf of the united delegation from the State of New York, aye, Mr. President, in behalf of the Republican party of the State of New York, I name the Hon. Levi P. Morton.

Only one vote was taken for Vice-President, Mr. Morton receiving 591, or 178 more than a majority of the delegates who voted. Mr. Phelps stood next with 119 votes and Mr. Bradley was third with 103 votes. The ballot was as follows:

Levi P. Morton, New York.....	591
William Walter Phelps, New Jersey.....	119
W. O. Bradley, Kentucky.....	103
Blanche K. Bruce, Mississippi.....	11
Walter F. Thomas, Texas.....	1
<hr/>	
Total vote.....	825
Necessary for choice.....	413

The convention added to the platform the following resolution, offered by Mr. Boutelle, of Maine:

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

The resolution was adopted by an unanimous vote, and the Republican National Convention of 1888, was adjourned.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

[Adopted at Chicago June 21, 1883.]

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader—the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have been more recently called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling—may their memories be faithfully cherished.

We also recall with our greetings and with prayer for his recovery the name of one of our living heroes whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan. In the spirit of those great leaders and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

A FREE BALLOT.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and to the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union; and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our Republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the foundation of all public authority. We charge that the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

UNCOMPROMISING PROTECTION.

We are unconditionally in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction, proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

REDUCTION OF SURPLUS.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the National revenue by repealing the taxes on tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whisky trusts and the agents of foreign manufactures.

CONTRACT LABOR AND TRUSTS.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our Constitution; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress, and the State Legislatures, in their respective

jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

PUBLIC DOMAIN.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers—not aliens—which the Republican party established in 1862 against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land-grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of Republicans and Democrats about 50,000,000 acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers titles to homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

THE TERRITORIES AND STATEHOOD.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon the necessity only to the end that they may become

States in the Union ; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted as a right inherent in them to form for themselves Constitutions and State Governments and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood all officers thereof should be selected from the bona-fide residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve. South Dakota should of right be immediatly admitted as a State in the Union under the Constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills is a willful violation of the sacred American principles of local self-government, and warrants the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State Governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

AGAINST MORMONISM AND POLYGAMY.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions too dangerous to be long suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation

asserting the sovereignty of the Nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free Nation; therefore the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning, sufficient to afford to every child growing in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education.

REHABILITATION OF THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for necessary

works of National importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security to our country, promote trades, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the Government's money without interest to "pet banks."

FOREIGN POLICY.

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican Administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America, and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our National influence in Central and South America; and necessity for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

FISHERIES.

We arraign the present Democratic Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress towards our fisheries, as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable National industry, and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy.

The name American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

CIVIL SERVICE.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, and surety of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884—to wit: "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the

Republican Administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledges made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform shall become an inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing Treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the Government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present Administration.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

[*Adopted at St. Louis, June 7, 1888.*]

The Democratic party of the United States in National Convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to the Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representative in the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown, devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written constitution strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a zealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality and establishing justice.

The Democratic party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust, in the election of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, but it challenges

that the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people during the most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from overtaxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmatured, it has by the adoption of a wise and conservative course not only averted disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly one hundred millions of acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

While carefully guarding the interest to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during the same period. It has adopted, consistently pursued, a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own government and people at home and abroad.

The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

CIVIL SERVICE.

Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

In every branch and department of the government under Democratic control the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained.

Upon its record thus exhibited and upon a pledge of a continuance to the people of the benefits of Democracy, it invokes a renewal of popular trust by the re-election of a chief magistrate who has been faithful, able and prudent, and invokes in addition to that trust the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

The Republican party, controlling the Senate and resisting both houses of Congress, a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law, and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Then the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretenses, enterprise is fettered, and bound down to home markets; capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended or repealed.

TAXATION.

The Democratic party will continue, with all the power confided in it, the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrage of the people. Of all the industrious freemen of our land, the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is

increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation.

All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, while enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition. Every rule of governmental action is violated when through unnecessary taxation a vast sum of money far beyond the needs of economical administration is drawn from the people, the channels of trade, and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the National Treasury.

The money now lying idle in the Federal Treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than \$125,000,000, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than \$60,000,000 annually. Debauched by the immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust by extravagant appropriations and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense and abolish unnecessary taxation.

Our established domestic industries should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continued operations. In

the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party should promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of the necessities of life in the home of every workingman, and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment.

Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our National life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

THE TARIFF PLANK.

The following is the full wording of the tariff plank in the Democratic platform adopted in Chicago in 1884:

"The Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But in making a reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather protect their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government, taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of Federal revenue; such they must continue to be; moreover, so many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital involved. The process of reform must be subject in execution to this plain dictate of justice—all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of an economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be affected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased

cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions and interest and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuse of the present tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered."

THE PLATFORM ADOPTED.

Secretary Pettit, during the reading of the report of the Committee on Resolutions, was frequently compelled to stop for several seconds while the convention applauded significant passages in the platform. There was a moderate volume of applause when the opening sentences which reaffirmed the utterances of the tariff plank in the platform of 1884, but when he followed endorsing the President's message and declaring that it correctly interpreted that plank, the convention fairly rose to its feet and cheered wildly for a full minute.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM.

[Adopted at Indianapolis, May 31, 1883.]

The Prohibition party, in National convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in government, does hereby declare:

1. That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages shall be made public crimes, and prohibited and punished as such.

2. That such prohibition must be secured through amendments of our National and State Constitutions, enforced by adequate laws adequately supported by administrative authority, and to this end the organization of the Prohibition party is imperatively demanded in State and Nation.

3. That any form of license taxation, or regulation of the liquor traffic, is contrary to good government; that any party which supports regulation by license or tax, enters into an alliance with such traffic and becomes the actual foe of the State's welfare, and that we arraign the Republican and Democratic parties for their persistent attitude in favor of the licensed iniquity, whereby they oppose the demand of the people for prohibition, and through open complicity with the liquor cause defeat the enforcement of the law.

4. For the immediate abolition of the internal-revenue system, whereby our National Government is deriving support from our greatest National vice.

5. That an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by impost duties, but import duties should be so reduced that no surplus should be accumulated in the Treasury, and the burdens of taxation should be removed from foods, clothing and other comforts and necessities of life, and imposed upon such articles of import as will give protection both to the manufacturer, employer and producing labor against the competition of the world.

6. That civil-service appointments for all civil offices, chiefly clerical in their duties, should be based upon moral, intellectual and physical qualifications, and not upon party service or party necessity.

7. That the right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstance of race, color or nationality, and that where, from any cause, it has been withheld from citizens who are of suitable age and mentally and morally qualified for the exercise of an intelligent ballot it should be restored by the people through the Legislatures of the several States on such educational basis as they may deem wise.

8. For the abolition of polygamy and the establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce.

9. For prohibiting all combination of capital to control and to increase the cost of products for popular consumption.

10. For the preservation and defense of the Sabbath as a civil institution without oppressing any who religiously observe the same on any other day than the first day of the week.

11. That arbitration is the Christian, wise and economic method of settling National differences, and the same method should by judicious legislation be applied to the settlement of disputes between large bodies of employes and employers; that the abolition of the saloon would

remove the burdens, moral, physical, pecuniary and social, which now oppress labor and rob it of its earnings, and would prove to be the wise and successful way of promoting labor reform; and we invite labor and capital to unite with us for the accomplishment thereof.

18. That monopoly in the land is a wrong to the people, and public land should be reserved to actual settlers, and that men and women should receive equal wages for equal work.

13. That our immigration laws should be so enforced as to prevent the introduction into our country of all convicts, inmates of dependent institutions and others physically incapacitated for self-support, and that no person shall have the ballot in any State who is not a citizen of the United States.

14. Recognizing and declaring that prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in National politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who, on this one dominant issue, are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote National unity and insure the best welfare of our native land.

Resolutions were adopted by the convention favoring the payment of pensions to ex-soldiers and sailors; indorsing the work of the Prohibition army of the Blue and the Gray; condemning the Democratic and Republican parties for denying the right of self-government to the 60,000 people of Dakota, and upon motion of a colored delegate from North Carolina, a resolution declaring "that we hold that all men are born free and equal and should be secured in their rights."

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

[From the "Congressional Record," December 7, 1887.]

To the Congress of the United States:

You are confronted at the threshold of your legislative duties with a condition of the national finances which imperatively demands immediate and careful consideration.

The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people, largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the government.

When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share towards the careful and economical maintenance of the government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion, and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate object of expenditure, becomes a hoarding-place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade

and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

The condition of our Treasury is not altogether new; and it has more than once of late been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone can apply a remedy. And yet the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and widespread disaster.

It will not do to neglect this situation because its dangers are not now palpably imminent and apparent. They exist none the less certainly, and await the unforeseen and unexpected occasion when suddenly they will be precipitated upon us.

On the 30th day of June, 1885, the excess of revenues over public expenditures after complying with the annual requirement of the sinking fund act, was \$17,859,735.84; during the year ended June 30, 1886, such excess amounted to \$49,405,545.20; and during the year ended June 30, 1887, it reached the sum of \$55,567,849.54.

The annual contribution to the sinking fund during the three years above specified, amounting in the aggregate to \$138,058,320.94, and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding three per cent. bonds of the government. During the six months prior to June 30, 1887, the surplus revenue had grown so large by repeated accumulations, and it was feared the withdrawal of this great sum of money needed by the people would so affect the business of the country that the sum of \$79,864,100 of such surplus was applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the three per cent. bonds still outstanding, and which were then payable at the option

of the government. The precarious condition of financial affairs among the people still needing relief, immediately after the 30th day of June, 1887, the remainder of the three per cent. bonds then outstanding, amounting with principal and interest to the sum of \$18,877,500, were called in and applied to the sinking fund contribution for the current fiscal year. Notwithstanding these operations of the Treasury Department, representations of distress in business circles not only continued but increased, and absolute peril seemed at hand. In these circumstances the contribution to the sinking fund for the current fiscal year was at once completed by the expenditure of \$27,684,283.55 in the purchase of government bonds not yet due bearing four, and four and a half per cent. interest, the premium paid thereon averaging about twenty-four per cent. for the former and eight per cent. for the latter. In addition to this the interest accruing during the current year upon the outstanding bonded indebtedness of the government was to some extent anticipated, and banks selected as depositories of public money were permitted to somewhat increase their deposits.

While the expedients thus employed, to release to the people the money lying idle in the Treasury, served to avert immediate danger, our surplus revenues have continued to accumulate, the excess for the present year amounting on the 1st day of December to \$55,258,701.19, and estimated to reach the sum of \$113,000,000 on the 30th of June next, at which date it is expected that this sum, added to prior accumulations, will swell the surplus in the Treasury to \$140,000,000.

There seems to be no assurance that, with such a withdrawal from use of the people's circulating medium, our business community may not in the near future be subjected to the same distress which was quite lately produced from

the same cause. And while the functions of our national Treasury should be few and simple, and while its best condition would be reached, I believe, by its entire disconnection with private business interests, yet when, by a perversion of its purposes, it idly holds money uselessly subtracted from the channels of trade, there seems to be reason for the claim that some legitimate means should be devised by the government to restore in an emergency, without waste or extravagance, such money to its place among the people.

If such an emergency arises there now exists no clear and undoubted executive power of relief. Heretofore the redemption of three per cent. bonds, which were payable at the option of the government, has afforded a means for the disbursement of the excess of our revenues; but these bonds have all been retired, and there are no bonds outstanding, the payment of which we have the right to insist upon. The contribution to the sinking fund which furnishes the occasion for expenditure in the purchase of bonds has been already made for the current year, so that there is no outlet in that direction.

In the present state of legislation the only pretence of any existing executive power to restore, at this time, any part of our surplus revenues to the people by its expenditure, consists in the supposition that the Secretary of the Treasury may enter the market and purchase the bonds of the government not yet due, at a rate of premium to be agreed upon. The only provision of law from which such a power could be derived is found in an appropriation bill passed a number of years ago; and it is subject to the suspicion that it was intended as temporary, and limited in its application, instead of conferring a continuing discretion and authority. No condition ought to exist which would justify the grant of power to a single official, upon his judgment of its neces-

sity, to withhold from or release to the business of the people, in an unusual manner, money held in the Treasury, and thus affect, at his will, the financial situation of the country; and if it is deemed wise to lodge in the Secretary of the Treasury the authority in the present juncture to purchase bonds, it should be plainly vested, and provided, as far as possible, with such checks and limitations as will define this official's right and discretion, and at the same time relieve him from undue responsibility.

In considering the question of purchasing bonds as a means of restoring to circulation the surplus money accumulating in the Treasury, it should be borne in mind that premiums must of course be paid upon such purchase, that there may be a large part of these bonds held as investments which cannot be purchased at any price, and that combinations among holders who are willing to sell may unreasonably enhance the cost of such bonds to the government.

It has been suggested that the present bonded debt might be refunded at a less rate of interest, and the difference between the old and new security paid in cash, thus finding use for the surplus in the Treasury. The success of this plan, it is apparent, must depend upon the volition of the holders of the present bonds; and it is not entirely certain that the inducement which must be offered them would result in more financial benefit to the government than the purchase of bonds, while the latter proposition would reduce the principal of the debt by actual payment, instead of extending it.

The proposition to deposit the money held by the government in banks throughout the country, for use by the people, is, it seems to me, exceedingly objectionable in principle, as establishing too close a relationship between the operations of the government Treasury and the business

of the country, and too extensive a commingling of their money, thus fostering an unnatural reliance in private business upon public funds. If this scheme should be adopted it should only be done as a temporary expedient to meet an urgent necessity. Legislative and executive effort should generally be in the opposite direction and should have a tendency to divorce, as much and as fast as can safely be done, the Treasury Department from private enterprise.

Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, besides the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purposes of our government.

I have deemed it my duty to thus bring to the knowledge of my countrymen, as well as to the attention of their representatives charged with the responsibility of legislative relief, the gravity of our financial situation. The failure of the Congress heretofore to provide against the dangers which it was quite evident the very nature of the difficulty must necessarily produce, caused a condition of financial distress and apprehension since your last adjournment, which taxed to the utmost all the authority and expedients within executive control; and these appear now to be exhausted. If disaster results from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsibility must rest where it belongs.

Though the situation thus far considered is fraught with danger which should be fully realized, and though it presents features of wrong to the people as well as peril to the country, it is but a result growing out of a perfectly palpable and apparent cause, constantly reproducing the

same alarming circumstances — a congested National Treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business of the country. It need hardly be stated that while the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from a like predicament in the future by the removal of its cause.

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad, and internal revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal-revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessities; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subjected to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people who never

used and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the government's income; and in re-adjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection, or any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to a public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow-citizens thus engaged,

that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage.

We are in the midst of centennial celebrations, and with becoming pride we rejoice in American skill and ingenuity, in American energy and enterprise, and in the wonderful natural advantages and resources developed by a century's national growth. Yet when an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers, quite beyond a reasonable demand for governmental regard, it suits the purposes of advocacy to call our manufactures infant industries, still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from Federal legislation.

It is also said that the increase in the price of domestic manufactures resulting from the present tariff is necessary in order that higher wages may be paid to our workingmen employed in manufactories, than are paid for what is called the pauper labor of Europe. All will acknowledge the force of an argument which involves the welfare and liberal compensation of our laboring people. Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen; and as it lies at the foundation of our development and progress, it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country less favored, and they are entitled to their full share of all our advantages.

By the last census it is made to appear that of the 17,892,099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries, 7,670,493 are employed in agriculture, 4,074,238 in professional and personal service (2,934,876 of whom are domestic servants and laborers), while 1,810,256 are em-

ployed in trade and transportation, and 3,837,112 are classed as employed in manufacturing and mining.

For present purposes, however, the last number given should be considerably reduced. Without attempting to enumerate all, it will be conceded that there should be deducted from those which it includes 375,143 carpenters and joiners, 285,401 milliners, dressmakers, and seamstresses, 172,726 blacksmiths, 133,756 tailors and tailoresses, 102,473 masons, 76,241 butchers, 41,309 bakers, 22,083 plasterers, and 4,891 engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, amounting in the aggregate to 1,214,023, leaving 2,623,089 persons employed in such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by a high tariff.

To these the appeal is made to save their employment and maintain their wages by resisting a change. There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor, and therefore should forego an advantage, in the interest of low prices for the majority; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should at all times be scrupulously kept in view; and yet with slight reflection they will not overlook the fact that they are consumers with the rest; that they, too, have their own wants and those of their families to supply from their earnings, and that the price of the necessities of life, as well as the amount of their wages, will regulate the measure of their welfare and comfort.

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the workingman nor the lessening of his wages; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employees either in their

opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation. Nor can the worker in manufactures fail to understand that while a high tariff is claimed to be necessary to allow the payment of remunerative wages, it certainly results in a very large increase in the price of nearly all sorts of manufactures, which, in almost countless forms, he needs for the use of himself and his family. He receives at the desk of his employer his wages, and perhaps before he reaches his home is obliged, in a purchase for family use of an article which embraces his own labor, to return in the payment of the increase in price, which the tariff permits, the hard-earned compensation of many days of toil.

The farmer and the agriculturist who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes, upon every agricultural implement, upon all he wears and upon all he uses and owns, except the increase of his flocks and herds and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to aid in maintaining the present situation; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased. They, of course, are not reminded that the farmer who has no sheep is by this scheme obliged, in his purchases of clothing and woollen goods, to pay a tribute to his fellow-farmer as well as to the manufacturer and merchant; nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep-owners themselves and their households must wear clothing and use other articles manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus as consumers must return their share of this increased price to the tradesman.

I think it may be fairly assumed that a large proportion of the sheep owned by farmers throughout the country are found in small flocks numbering from twenty-five to fifty.

The duty on the grade of imported wool which these sheep yield is ten cents each pound, if of the value of thirty cents or less, and twelve cents if of the value of more than thirty cents. If the liberal estimate of six pounds be allowed for each fleece, the duty thereon would be sixty or seventy-two cents, and this may be taken as the utmost enhancement of its price to the farmer by reason of this duty. Eighteen dollars would thus represent the increased price of the wool from twenty-five sheep and thirty-six dollars that from the wool of fifty sheep; and at present values this addition would amount to about one third of its price. If upon its sale the farmer receives this or a less tariff profit, the wool leaves his hands charged with precisely that sum, which in all its changes will adhere to it, until it reaches the consumer. When manufactured into cloth and other goods and material for use, its cost is not only increased to the extent of the farmer's tariff profit, but a further sum has been added for the benefit of the manufacturer under the operation of other tariff laws. In the meantime the day arrives when the farmer finds it necessary to purchase woolen goods and material to clothe himself and family for the winter. When he faces the tradesman for that purpose he discovers that he is obliged not only to return in the way of increased prices his tariff profit on the wool he sold, and which then, perhaps, lies before him in manufactured form, but that he must add a considerable sum thereto to meet a further increase in cost caused by a tariff duty on the manufacture. Thus in the end he is aroused to the fact that he has paid upon a moderate purchase, as a result of the tariff scheme, which, when he sold his wool seemed so profitable, an increase in price more than sufficient to sweep away all the tariff profit he received upon the wool he produced and sold.

When the number of farmers engaged in wool-raising is compared with all the farmers in the country, and the small proportion they bear to our population is considered; when it is made apparent that, in the case of a large part of those who own sheep the benefit of the present tariff on wool is illusory; and, above all, when it must be conceded that the increase of the cost of living caused by such tariff becomes a burden upon those with moderate means and the poor, the employed and unemployed, the sick and well, and the young and old, and that it constitutes a tax which, with relentless grasp, is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman and child in the land, reasons are suggested why the removal or reduction of this duty should be included in a revision of our tariff laws.

In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures, resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty. But it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combinations quite prevalent at this time, and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply and price of commodities made and sold by members of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

If, however, in the absence of such combination, a healthy and free competition reduces the price of any particular dutiable article of home production below the limit which it might otherwise reach under our tariff laws, and if, with such reduced price, its manufacture continues to thrive, it is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which

should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

The necessity of combination to maintain the price of any commodity to the tariff point furnishes proof that some one is willing to accept lower prices for such commodity, and that such prices are remunerative; and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus where either of these conditions exists a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation.

The considerations which have been presented touching our tariff laws are intended only to enforce an earnest recommendation that the surplus revenues of the government be prevented by the reduction of our customs duties, and, at the same time, to emphasize a suggestion that in accomplishing this purpose we may discharge a double duty to our people by granting to them a measure of relief from tariff taxation in quarters where it is most needed and from sources where it can be most fairly and justly accorded.

Nor can the presentation made of such considerations be, with any degree of fairness, regarded as evidence of unfriendliness towards our manufacturing interests, or of any lack of appreciation of their value and importance.

These interests constitute a leading and most substantial element of our national greatness and furnish the proud proof of our country's progress. But if in the emergency that presses upon us our manufacturers are asked to surrender something for the public good and to avert disaster, their patriotism, as well as a grateful recognition of advantages already afforded, should lead them to willing co-operation. No demand is made that they shall forego all the benefits of governmental regard; but they cannot fail to be admonished of their duty, as well as their enlightened self-interest and safety, when they are reminded of the fact that

financial panic and collapse, to which the present condition tends, afford no greater shelter or protection to our manufactures than to our other important enterprises. Opportunity for safe, careful, and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people, heedless of those who have resisted timely and reasonable relief, may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectification of their wrongs.

The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

Under our present laws more than four thousand articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate, by adding them to the free list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship; but the necessities of life used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

The radical reduction of the duties imposed on raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessities; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product, as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material, could be accordingly modified. Such reduction, or free importation, would serve, besides, to largely reduce the

revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption—saving them from the depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employees more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship, and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the government have, by repeated and authoritative declarations, condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have, in the most solemn manner, promised its correction; and neither as citizens or partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

Our progress towards a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a *condition* which confronts us—not a *theory*. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the

persistent claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen need, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

The Constitution provides that the President "shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union." It has been the custom of the Executive, in compliance with this provision, to annually exhibit to the Congress, at the opening of its session, the general condition of the country, and to detail, with some particularity, the operations of the different executive departments. It would be especially agreeable to follow this course at the present time, and to call attention to the valuable accomplishments of these departments during the last fiscal year. But I am so much impressed with the paramount importance of the subject to which this communication has thus far been devoted, that I shall forego the addition of any other topic, and only urge upon your immediate consideration the "state of the Union" as shown in the present consideration of our Treasury and our general fiscal situation, upon which every element of our safety and prosperity depends.

The reports of the heads of departments, which will be submitted, contain full and explicit information touching

the transaction of the business intrusted to them, and such recommendations relating to legislation in the public interests as they deem advisable. I ask for these reports and recommendations the deliberate examination and action of the legislative branch of the government.

There are other subjects not embraced in the departmental reports demanding legislative consideration, and which I should be glad to submit. Some of them, however, have been earnestly presented in previous messages, and as to them, I beg leave to repeat prior recommendations.

As the law makes no provision for any report from the Department of State, a brief history of the transactions of that important department, together with other matters which it may hereafter be deemed essential to commend to the attention of the Congress, may furnish the occasion for a future communication.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

WASHINGTON, *December 6, 1887.*

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S MESSAGE DISCUSSED.

BY

JAMES G. BLAINE.



PARIS, December 7, 1887.—After reading an abstract of the President's message, laid before all Europe this morning, I saw Mr. Blaine and asked him if he would be willing to give his views upon the recommendation of the President in the form of a letter or interview. He preferred an interview, if I would agree to send him an intelligent shorthand reporter, with such questions as should give free scope for an expression of his views. The following lucid and powerful statement is the result. Mr. Blaine began by saying to the reporter:

"I have been reading an abstract of the President's message, and have been especially interested in the comments of the London papers. Those papers all assume to declare the message a free-trade manifesto, and evidently are anticipating an enlarged market for English fabrics in the United States as a consequence of the President's recommendations. Perhaps that fact stamped the character of the message more clearly than any words of mine can."

"You don't mean actual free-trade without duty?" queried the reporter.

"No," replied Mr. Blaine. "Nor do the London papers mean that. They simply mean that the President has recommended what in the United States is known as a revenue tariff, rejecting the protective feature as an object, and not even permitting protection to result freely as an incident to revenue duties."

"I don't know that I quite comprehend that last point," said the reporter.

"I mean," said Mr. Blaine, "that for the first time in the history of the United States the President recommends retaining the internal tax in order that the tariff may be forced down even below the fair revenue standard. He recommends that the tax on tobacco be retained, and thus that many millions annually shall be levied on a domestic product which would far better come from a tariff on foreign fabrics."

"Then do you mean to imply that you would favor the repeal of the tobacco tax?"

"Certainly; I mean just that," said Mr. Blaine. "I should urge that it be done at once, even before the Christmas holidays. It would, in the first place, bring great relief to growers of tobacco all over the country, and would, moreover, materially lessen the price of the article to consumers. Tobacco to millions of men is a necessity. The President calls it a luxury, but it is a luxury in no other sense than tea and coffee are luxuries. It is well to remember that the luxury of yesterday becomes a necessity of to-day. Watch, if you please, the number of men at work on the farm, in the coal mine, along the railroad, in the iron foundry, or in any calling, and you will find ninety-five in a hundred chewing while they work. After each meal the

same proportion seek the solace of a pipe or a cigar. These men not only pay the millions of the tobacco tax, but pay on every plug and every cigar an enhanced price which the tax enables the manufacturer and retailer to impose. The only excuse for such a tax is the actual necessity under which the government found itself during the war, and the years immediately following. To retain the tax now, in order to destroy the protection which would incidentally flow from raising the same amount of money on foreign imports, is certainly a most extraordinary policy for our government."

"Well, then, Mr. Blaine, would you advise the repeal of the whiskey tax also?"

"No, I would not. Other considerations than those of financial administration are to be taken into account with regard to whiskey. There is a moral side to it. To cheapen the price of whiskey is to increase its consumption enormously. There would be no sense in urging the reform wrought by high license in many states if the national government neutralizes the good effect by making whiskey within reach of every one at twenty cents a gallon. Whiskey would be everywhere distilled if the surveillance of the government were withdrawn by the remission of the tax, and illicit sales could not then be prevented even by a policy as rigorous and searching as that with which Russia pursues the Nihilists. It would destroy high license at once in all the states.

"Whiskey has done a vast deal of harm in the United States. I would try to make it do some good. I would use the tax to fortify our cities on the seaboard. In view of the powerful letter addressed to the Democratic party on the subject of fortifications by the late Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, in 1885, I am amazed that no attention has been

paid to the subject by the Democratic administration. Never before in the history of the world has any government allowed great cities on the seaboard, like New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans and San Francisco, to remain absolutely defenceless."

"But," said the reporter, "you don't think we are to have war in any direction?"

"Certainly not," said Mr. Blaine. "Neither, I presume, did Mr. Tilden when he wrote his remarkable letter. But we should change a remote chance into an absolute impossibility if our weak and exposed points were strongly fortified. If to-day we had by any chance such a war as we had with Mexico, our enemy could procure hordes in Europe that would menace our great cities with destruction or lay them under contribution."

"But would not our fortifying now possibly look as if we expected war?"

"Why should it any more than the fortifications made seventy or eighty years ago by our grandfathers when they guarded themselves against successful attack from the armaments of their day? We don't necessarily expect a burglar because we lock our doors at night, but if by any possibility a burglar comes it contributes vastly to our peace of mind and our sound sleep to feel that he can't get in."

"But after the fortifications should be constructed would you still maintain the tax on whiskey?"

"Yes," said Mr. Blaine, "so long as there is whiskey to tax I would tax it, and when the national government should have no use for the money I would divide the tax among the members of the Federal Union with the specific object of lightening the tax on real estate. The houses and farms of the whole country pay too large a proportion of the total taxes. If, ultimately, relief could be given in

that direction it would, in my judgment, be a wise and beneficent policy. Some honest but misguided friends of temperance have urged that the government should not use the money derived from the tax on whiskey. My reply is that the tax on whiskey by the Federal government, with its suppression of all illicit distillation and consequent enhancement of price, has been a powerful agent in the temperance reform by putting it beyond the reach of so many. The amount of whiskey consumed in the United States per capita to-day is not more than 40 per cent. of that consumed thirty years ago.

"In my judgment the whiskey tax should be so modified as to permit all who use pure alcohol in the arts or in mechanical pursuits to have it free of tax. In all such cases the tax could be remitted without danger of fraud, just as now the tax on spirits exported is remitted."

"Besides your general and sweeping opposition to the President's recommendation, have you any further specific objection?"

"Yes," answered Mr. Blaine; "I should seriously object to the repeal of the duty on wool. To repeal that would work great injustice to many interests and would seriously discourage what we should earnestly encourage, namely, the sheep culture among farmers throughout the Union. To break down wool-growing and be dependent on foreign countries for the blanket under which we sleep and the coat that covers our backs is not a wise policy for the national government to enforce."

"Do you think if the President's recommendation were adopted it would increase our export trade?"

"Possibly in some few articles of peculiar construction it might, but it would increase our import trade tenfold as much in the great staple fabrics, in woolen and cotton

goods, in iron, in steel, in all the thousand and one shapes in which they are wrought. How are we to export staple fabrics to the markets of Europe unless we make them cheaper than they do in Europe, and how are we to manufacture them cheaper than they do in Europe unless we get cheaper labor than they have in Europe?"

"Then you think that the question of labor underlies the whole subject?"

"Of course it does," replied Mr. Blaine. "It is, in fact, the entire question. Whenever we can force carpenters, masons, iron-workers, and mechanics in every department to work as cheaply and live as poorly in the United States as similar workmen in Europe, we can, of course, manufacture just as cheaply as they do in England and France. But I am totally opposed to a policy that would entail such results. To attempt it is equivalent to a social and financial revolution, one that would bring untold distress."

"Yes, but might not the great farming class be benefited by importing articles from Europe instead of buying them at higher prices at home?"

"The moment," answered Mr. Blaine, "you begin to import freely from Europe you drive our own workmen from mechanical and manufacturing pursuits. In the same proportion they become tillers of the soil, increasing steadily the agricultural product and decreasing steadily the large home demand which is constantly enlarging as home manufactures enlarge. That, of course, works great injury to the farmer, glutting the market with his products and tending constantly to lower the prices."

"Yes, but the foreign demand for farm products would be increased in like ratio, would it not?"

"Even suppose it were," said Mr. Blaine, "how do you know the source from which it will be supplied. The ten-

dency in Russia to-day and in the Asiatic possessions of England is towards a large increase of the grain supply, the grain being raised by the cheapest possible labor. Manufacturing countries will buy their breadstuffs where they can get them cheapest, and the enlarging of the home market for the American farmer being checked, he would search in vain for one of the same value. His foreign sales are already checked by the great competition abroad. There never was a time when the increase of a large home market was so valuable to him. The best proof is that the farmers are prosperous in proportion to the nearness of manufacturing centres, and a protective tariff tends to spread manufactures. In Ohio and Indiana, for example, though not classed as manufacturing states, the annual value of fabrics is larger than the annual value of agricultural products."

"But those holding the President's views," remarked the reporter, "are always quoting the great prosperity of the country under the tariff of 1846."

"That tariff did not involve the one destructive point recommended by the President, namely, the retaining of direct internal taxes in order to abolish indirect taxes levied on foreign fabrics. But the country had peculiar advantages under it by the Crimean war involving England, France, and Russia, and largely impairing their trade. All these incidents, or accidents, if you choose, were immensely stimulating to trade in the United States, regardless of the nature of our tariff. But mark the end of this European experience with the tariff of 1846, which for a time gave an illusory and deceptive show of prosperity. Its enactment was immediately followed by the Mexican war; then in 1848 by the great convulsions in Europe; then in 1849 and succeeding years by the enormous gold yield in California. The Powers made peace in 1856, and at the same time the

output of gold in California fell off. Immediately the financial panic of 1857 came upon the country with disastrous force. Though we had in these years mined a vast amount of gold in California, every bank in New York was compelled to suspend specie payment. Four hundred millions in gold had been carried out of the country in eight years to pay for foreign goods that should have been manufactured at home, and we had years of depression and distress as an atonement for our folly.

"It is remarkable that President Polk recommended the tariff of 1846 on precisely the same ground that President Cleveland recommends a similar enactment now, namely, the surplus in the Treasury was menacing the prosperity of the country. History is repeating itself. By the way," Mr. Blaine added, after a moment's reflection, "it is worth notice that Mr. Polk insisted on emptying the Treasury by a free-trade tariff, then immediately rushed the country into debt by borrowing \$150,000,000 for the Mexican war. I trust nothing may occur to repeat so disastrous a sequel to the policy recommended by President Cleveland. But the uniform fate has been for fifty years past that the Democratic party, when it goes out of power, always leaves an empty Treasury, and when it returns to power always finds a full Treasury."

"Then do you mean to imply that there should be no reduction of the national revenue?"

"No, what I have said implies the reverse. I would reduce it by a prompt repeal of the tobacco tax, and would make here and there some changes in the tariff not to reduce protection, but wisely foster it."

"Would you explain your meaning more fully?"

"I mean," said Mr. Blaine, "that no great system of revenue like our tariff can operate with efficiency and equity

unless the changes of trade be closely watched and the law promptly adapted to those changes. But I would make no change that should impair the protective character of the whole body of the tariff laws. Four years ago, in the Act of 1883, we made changes of the character I have tried to indicate. If such changes were made, and the fortifying of our sea-coast thus undertaken at a very moderate annual outlay, no surplus would be found after that already accumulated had been disposed of. The outlay of money on fortifications, while doing great service to the country, would give good work to many men."

"But what about the existing surplus?"

"The abstract of the message I have seen," replied Mr. Blaine, "contains no reference to that point. I, therefore, make no comment further than to indorse Mr. Fred Grant's remark that a surplus is always easier to handle than a deficit."

The reporter repeated the question whether the President's recommendation would not, if adopted, give us the advantage of a large increase in exports.

"I only repeat," answered Mr. Blaine, "that it would vastly enlarge our imports, while the only export it would seriously increase would be our gold and silver. That would flow out bounteously, just as it did under the tariff of 1846. The President's recommendation enacted into law would result as did an experiment in drainage, of a man who wished to turn a swamp into a productive field. He dug a drain to a neighboring river, but it happened unfortunately, that the level of the river was higher than the level of the swamp. The consequence need not be told. A parallel would be found when the President's policy in attempting to open a channel for an increase of exports

should simply succeed in making way for a deluging inflow of fabrics to the destruction of home industry."

"But don't you think it important to increase our export trade?"

"Undoubtedly; but it is vastly more important not to lose our own great market for our own people in the vain effort to reach the impossible. It is not our foreign trade that has caused the wonderful growth and expansion of the republic. It is the vast domestic trade between thirty-eight states and eight territories, with their population of, perhaps, 62,000,000 to-day. The whole amount of our export and import trade together has never, I think, reached \$1,900,000,000 any one year. Our internal home trade on 130,000 miles of railway, along 15,000 miles of ocean coast, over the five great lakes, and along 20,000 miles of navigable rivers, reaches the enormous annual aggregate of more than \$40,000,000,000, and perhaps this year \$50,000,000,000.

"It is into this illimitable trade, even now in its infancy, and destined to attain a magnitude not dreamed of twenty years ago, that the Europeans are struggling to enter. It is the heritage of the American people, of their children, and of their children's children. It gives an absolutely free trade over a territory nearly as large as all Europe, and the profit is all our own. The genuine free-trader appears unable to see or comprehend that this continental trade—not our exchanges with Europe—is the great source of our prosperity. President Cleveland now plainly proposes a policy that will admit Europe to a share of this trade."

"But you are in favor of extending our foreign trade, are you not?"

"Certainly I am, in all practical and advantageous ways, but not on the principle of the free-traders, by which we shall be constantly exchanging dollar for dime. Moreover,

the foreign trade is often very delusive. Cotton is manufactured in the city of my residence. If a box of cotton goods is sent two hundred miles to the province of New Brunswick, it is foreign trade. If shipped seventeen thousand miles around Cape Horn to Washington Territory it is domestic trade. The magnitude of the Union and the immensity of its internal trade require a new political economy. The treatises written for European states do not grasp our peculiar situation."

"How will the President's message be taken in the South?"

"I don't dare to answer that question. The truth has been so long obscured by certain local questions of unreasoning prejudice that nobody can hope for industrial enlightenment among their leaders just yet. But in my view the South above all sections of the Union needs a protective tariff. The two Virginias, North Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia have enormous resources and facilities for developing and handling manufactures. They cannot do anything without protection. Even progress so vast as some of those states have made will be checked if the President's message is enacted into law. Their senators and representatives can prevent it, but they are so used to following anything labelled 'Democratic' that very probably they will follow the President and blight the progress already made. By the time some of the Southern States get free iron ore and coal, while tobacco is taxed, they may have occasion to sit down and calculate the value of Democratic free-trade to their local interests."

"Will not the President's recommendation to admit raw material find strong support?"

"Not by wise protectionists in our time. Perhaps some greedy manufacturers may think that with free coal or free

iron ore they can do great things, but if they should succeed in trying they will, as the boys say, catch it on the rebound. If the home trade in raw material is destroyed or seriously injured railroads will be the first to feel it. If that vast interest is crippled in any direction the financial fabric of the whole country will feel it quickly and seriously. If any man can give a reason why we should arrange the tariff to favor the raw material of other countries in a competition against our material of the same kind, I should like to hear it. Should that recommendation of the President be approved it would turn one hundred thousand American laborers out of employment before it had been a year in operation."

"What must be the marked and general effect of the President's message?"

"It will bring the country where it ought to be brought—to a full and fair contest on the question of protection. The President himself makes it the one issue by presenting no other in his message. I think it well to have the question settled. The Democratic party in power is a standing menace to the industrial prosperity of the country. That menace should be removed or the policy it foreshadows should be made certain. Nothing is so mischievous to business as uncertainty, nothing so paralyzing as doubt."

VIEWS ON THE TARIFF.

BY

HON. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.,

OF OHIO.

[From his speech in House of Representatives, May 18, 1888.]

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—Mr. McKinley said :

MR. CHAIRMAN: Our country is in an anomalous situation. There is nothing resembling it anywhere else in the world. While we are seeking to find objects to relieve from taxation, in order that we may relieve an overflowing Treasury, other nations are engaged in exploring the field of human production to find new objects of taxation to supply their insufficient revenues. In considering the situation that thus confronts us, and the bill that is presented here as intended to relieve it, it is well that we should understand at the beginning the things upon which all are agreed.

They are, first, that we are collecting more money than is required for the current needs of the Government; and

second, that the excess, whatever it may be, beyond the wants of the Government should be left with the people. Our contention, therefore, is upon the manner of the reduction and not upon the reduction itself; not that no reduction shall or ought to be made, but how and upon what principle can it best be accomplished. We agree, further, that the tax upon tobacco shall be removed and thus leave with the people \$30,000,000 which they annually pay upon this domestic product. Were we men of business, governed by the principles which guide practical men of affairs, this burden would have been and could have been removed any time within the past two years, and if removed two years ago no surplus would now vex the Administration or alarm the business of the country. In passing, it is suitable that I should say that within the period named no hindrance from this side of the House would have been interposed to the abolition of this tax.

But this tax was not abolished, and if done now still leaves about forty millions of revenue collected in excess of the public necessity. How can this amount be remitted with the least disturbance to the business and employments of the people?

THE BILL WILL NOT REDUCE THE REVENUE.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this is a bill ostensibly to reduce the revenue. It will not do it. Take from this bill its internal-revenue features, its reduction of twenty four and a half million dollars from tobacco and from special licenses to dealers in spirits and tobacco; eliminate these from the bill and you will not secure a dollar of reduction to the Treasury under its operation. Your \$27,000,000 of proposed reduction by the free-list will be more than offset by the

increased revenue which shall come from your lower duties ; and I venture the prediction here to-day that if this bill should become a law, at the end of the fiscal year 1889 the dutiable list under it will carry more money into the Treasury than is carried into the Treasury under the present law ; because with every reduction of duties upon foreign imports you stimulate and increase foreign importations ; and to the extent that you increase foreign importations, to that extent you increase the revenue.

Now here is a single item, steel billets. The present duty on steel billets is 45 per cent. *ad valorem*. In this bill it is increased to \$11 per ton, which is equivalent to 68.33 per cent.—an advance of 45 per cent. Do you know what is made out of these steel billets? Wire fencing, which incloses the great fields of the West ; and the raw material is increased 45 per cent. by this bill ; and if the principle of the gentlemen who advocate the bill be true, that the duty is added to the cost, every pound of wire fencing that goes to the West will be increased from one-quarter to one-half cent a pound ; all this under a Democratic bill. What else is made out of steel billets? Nails, which everybody uses, which enter into the every-day uses of the people. The duty upon nails is reduced 25 per cent., and the raw material is increased 45 per cent. As a friend near me suggests, when one end goes up the other goes down ; and the latter, I trust, will be the fate of this bill.

Why, sir, the duty on wire fencing is only 45 per cent. *ad valorem* ; yet the billet from which wire fencing is made must pay in this bill 63 per cent. Here [illustrating] is a piece of wire rod drawn from these steel billets and which finally goes into fencing. That is dutiable at 45 per cent. under this bill ; and the steel from which it is made is duti-

able at 63 per cent. What do you think of "raw material" for manufacturers? No account is here taken of the labor required to draw the rods.

But, Mr. Chairman, that is not all which is remarkable about this bill, this great bill which is based upon principle, it is said, which the President stands behind and beneath, and which he insists shall be passed, whether or no, in this House, and for the passage of which he is dispensing official favors; for, as the *Post*, of this city, says, "there is an Allentown for every SOWDEN."

What else? Here, for example, are cotton-ties, which present another queer freak in this bill. Everybody knows what cotton-ties are; they are hoop-iron cut into lengths just large enough to go round a bale of cotton. Now, if the Southern cotton-planter wants some of this hoop-iron with which to bale his cotton he goes to the custom-house at New York or Charleston and cuts off all he wants; and he does not have to pay a cent of duty; but if the farmer-constituent of my friend who sits before me [Mr. Nelson], or your farmer-constituent, want some hoop-iron of precisely the same width and thickness and goes to the custom-house to get it the Government makes it pay one cent and a half of duty upon every pound he takes, while it lets the cotton-planter take his for nothing. If the Western farmer wants it for his bucket or his barrel or to go on his wagon-bed, or if the washer-woman wants it for her washtub, every one of these must pay a cent and a half a pound, under the philosophy of the gentleman who framed this bill, while the cotton-planter gets his absolutely free of duty.

Gentlemen, is that fair? I appeal to Southern men who sit before me; I appeal to Northern Democrats who sit around me; is that fair upon any principle of justice or fair

play? Talk about sectionalism! You raise the question in your bill; you make a sectional issue which I deeply regret, and I am sure you must upon serious reflection.

There are some other features in this bill which are a little singular. The proposed duty on white lead is 2 cents a pound, while orange mineral, which is made from white lead, is reduced to one cent and a half a pound. That is another case of high duty upon raw material and low duty upon the finished product.

Why, what in the world, Mr. Chairman, has this bill done for the people anyhow? What has it done for the farmer? It has taken the duty practically off of everything he grows. I will not stop to give the items. It makes free, practically, every product of the farm, the forest, and mine.

It takes the duty off of wool. What does it give the grower in return? Does it give him anything free? Everything he buys is dutiable. The coat he wears, the hat that covers his head, his shoes, his stockings, his sugar, his rice, everything bears a duty, and substantially everything he raises put on the free-list.

The duty on wool must go. What has this Democratic party given the agriculturists in return for this slaughter of their interests? I have looked this bill up and down, and I will tell you what they have done for the farmer. They have given him free sheep-dip. Sheep-dip is made free and the duty is released. My distinguished friend from Virginia [Mr. Lee], who honors me with his presence here, knows what this article is. It is a preparation which is used on sheep. It is made up largely of the stems of tobacco. It has got a little sulphur in it, I believe; it has got a little lime in it. They put that on the free-list, and that is all they do for the farmer

Mr. Hopkins, of Illinois: What good is that to the farmer after they have destroyed his flocks?

Mr. McKinley: None. They leave the shears he clips his wool with at 45 per cent. *ad valorem*. They make his wool free and make the farmer pay 45 per cent. for the shears with which he clips his wool.

But that is not all. The bell, the sheep bell—if my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. Russell] is here, if that golden-shod shepherd from Worcester is here, he will understand. It is the bell that is put around the neck of the sheep to admonish the shepherd of the whereabouts of the wandering flock under his charge. I am told that gentleman has got on the outside. I learn now he is here in his seat; I am glad to see him. He knows what I am talking about.

NO PUBLIC DEMAND FOR SUCH A MEASURE.

This measure is not called for by the people; it is not an American measure; it is inspired by importers and foreign producers, most of them aliens, who want to diminish our trade and increase their own; who want to decrease our prosperity and augment theirs, and who have no interest in this country except what they can make out of it. To this is added the influence of the professors in some of our institutions of learning, who teach the science contained in books and not that of practical business. I would rather have my political economy founded upon the every-day experience of the puddler or the potter than the learning of the professor, the farmer and factory hand than the college faculty. Then there is another class who want protective tariffs overthrown. They are the men of independent wealth, with settled and steady incomes, who want everything cheap but

currency; the value of everything clipped but coin — cheap labor but dear money. These are the element which are arrayed against us.

Men whose capital is invested in productive enterprises, who take the risks of business, men who expend their capital and energy in the development of our resources, they are in favor of the maintenance of the protective system. The farmer, the rice-grower, the miner, the vast army of wage-earners from one end of the country to the other, the chief producers of wealth, men whose capital is their brain and muscle, who aspire to better their condition and elevate themselves and their fellows; the young man whose future is yet before him, and which he must carve out with his hand and head, who is without the aid of fortune or of a long ancestral line, these are our steadfast allies in this great contest for the preservation of the American system. Experience and results in our own country are our best advisers, and they vindicate beyond the possibility of dispute the worth and wisdom of the system.

What country can show such a trade as ours, such commerce, such immense transportation lines, such a volume of exchanges, and such marvelous production from the raw material to the finished product. Its balance-sheet is without a parallel in the world's history—richest in agriculture, greatest in its domestic trade and traffic, and leading in manufactures any nation in Europe. Why abandon a policy which can point to such achievements and whose trophies are to be seen on every hand? The internal commerce of the United States is greater than the entire foreign commerce of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Holland, Belgium, and Austria-Hungary. Why, a single railroad system in this country (that of the Pennsylvania Railroad

Company) carries more tonnage and traffic in a single year than all the merchant ships of Great Britain. The whole of Europe has not built as many miles of railroad as this country has during some recent years, and in 1880 the whole known world did not lay as many miles of track as were laid across this country. Great Britain's foreign commerce equals about one-sixth of our domestic commerce. Can we do better under any other fiscal policy? We say not. Wise statesmanship commands us, therefore, to let well enough alone.

Sir Edward Sullivan, in a recent article in the *London Post*, makes these suggestive comparisons, which I beg every gentleman to hear:

Under free-trade the masses must get poorer, because they get less employment. A well-known statistical work gives a comparison of the material progress of France under protection and England under free-trade. If there is any truth in figures it ought to startle us from our free-trade dream.

The comparison is based on the returns of legacy duty:

In 1826 England was 10s. a head richer than France.

In 1850 England was 19s. a head richer than France.

In 1877 England was 5s. a head poorer than France.

France has 57 per cent. of her land under tillage, and it is increasing every year.

The United Kingdom has 30 per cent. of her land under tillage, and it is diminishing every year, but the population of England increases much more rapidly than the population of France.

The commerce of England has increased 21 per cent. in ten years.

The commerce of France has increased 39 per cent. in ten years.

The commerce of the United States has increased 68 per cent. in ten years.

The commerce of the world has increased 26 per cent. in ten years.

So much for the blasting effect of free-trade.

In Germany, so long ago as the 14th of May, 1882, Bismark, in a speech before the German Reichstag, paid to the Republican tariff high eulogy. He said :

The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward disbanded its Army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, given labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States.

A HOME MARKET.

Why, Mr. Chairman, the establishment of a furnace or factory or mill in any neighborhood, has the effect at once to enhance the value of all property and all values for miles surrounding it. They produce increased activity. The farmer has a better and a nearer market for his products. The merchant, the butcher, the grocer, have an increased trade. The carpenter is in greater demand; he is called upon to build more houses. Every branch of trade, every avenue of labor, will feel almost immediately the energizing influence of a new industry. The truck farm is in demand; the perishable products, the fruits, the vegetables, which in many cases will not bear exportation, and which a foreign market is too distant to be available, find a constant and ready demand at good paying prices.

What the agriculturist of this country wants more than anything else, after he has gathered his crop, are consumers, consumers at home, men who do not produce what they eat, who must purchase all they consume; men who are

engaged in manufacturing, in mining, in cotton-spinning, in the potteries, and in the thousands of productive industries which command all their time and energy, and whose employments do not admit of their producing their own food.

The American agriculturist further wants these consumers near and convenient to his field of supply. Cheap as inland transportation is, every mile saved is money made. Every manufacturing establishment in the United States, wherever situated, is of priceless value to the farmers of the country. The six manufacturing States of New England aptly illustrate the great value of a home market to the Western farmer. These States have reached the highest perfection in skill and manufactures. They do not raise from their own soil, with the exceptions of hay and potatoes, but a small fraction of what their inhabitants require and consume; they could not from their own fields and granaries feed the population which they had in 1830, much less their present population. The most intense revenue-reformer, the most unenlightened Democrat, will have to confess that New England is indebted in large part for her splendid development to the protective system. Now, has her prosperity and progress been secured at the sacrifice of other interests and other sections? I answer no; but has brought, as I believe I shall be able to show, a positive blessing to all of our 60,000,000 of people.

In 1880 the population of these six States was over 4,000,000. The food products required by their people, the very necessities of their daily life in a large measure, came from other States and remote sections of the Union. They raised in 1880 but one-quarter of 1 per cent. of the total wheat production of the United States. They raised in the same year but one-half of 1 per cent. of the total crop of

Indian corn, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the oats, 12 per cent. of the hay, and 13 per cent. of the potatoes which were produced in the United States. What did they consume? What did they buy of the Western farmer? Fifty millions of dollars' worth of meat were consumed by their industrial people in a single year. The extent of their needs is strikingly shown by the fact (obtained from the accounts of Commissioner Fink), that during the year 1884 "the trunk lines" brought into New England no less than 470,000 tons of flour and 950,000 tons of grain. At 200 pounds to the barrel of flour, this is an importation of 4,700,000 barrels, or one and one-fifth, nearly, for each inhabitant. During the same year there were exported from Boston and Portland, the only points in New England from which breadstuffs are sent abroad, 2,100,000 barrels of flour, leaving for consumption within these States 2,600,000 barrels. These figures take no account of the large trade by water from New York. I am informed that a large part of the flour consumed in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Southern Massachusetts is received in this way, but no reliable statistics are available. It is reasonable, however, to suppose, and this comes to me from what I deem good authority, that the amount thus received and consumed offsets a large portion of the foreign exports to which I have referred.

Of the grain received during the same year rather less than 400,000 tons were exported, leaving for New England consumption 550,000 tons, for all of which these States were the customers of the West in addition to the amount grown upon their own soil. In addition to this, New England consumed, in 1886-87 in her factories nearly one-fourth of the entire cotton crop of the country. More than this, she used in her woolen mills in 1880 fully one-half of the

entire wool clip of the United States, and during the year 1886 she consumed more than one-sixth of the entire anthracite-coal production of the country, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the bituminous-coal production, and every pound of both came from the Middle and Southern States.

Is not New England (I appeal to the gentlemen of the other side, I appeal to the farmers of the country) worth preserving? Is not the industrial system which makes such a community of consumers for agricultural products possible worth maintaining? Does not she furnish you a market worth fostering? Does not she give you a trade and an exchange of products worth your while to guard with the most considerate care? And does not her condition indicate the wisdom of the policy we advocate? Is not her market better for you than a foreign one? Is not New England a better customer for you, more reliable, more easily reached, more stable, than Old England? Is not Boston a better consumer for the people of the United States than London, New York than Liverpool, Pittsburgh than Manchester, Cincinnati than Birmingham?

New England buys of you for all her wants; Old England takes not a pound or a bushel from you except what she must have and cannot get elsewhere.

Now, let us contrast this home market of New England with the foreign market of Old England. In 1880 New England consumed 540,000,000 pounds of cotton, at 11.61 a pound, which in value then amounted to \$62,695,000, 20 per cent. greater than the per capita value of all our domestic exports to the United Kingdom, and this was only New England's contribution to the Southern producers of cotton. She sends at least \$70,000,000 to the West and Northwest for her food supplies. She sends to the wool-growers of the

Middle, Western, and Pacific States \$40,000,000 annually for their fleeces. I repeat, is not this market worth preserving, ay, cherishing, and does it not make us long to have New England thrift, New England enterprise, and New England politics more generally distributed throughout all sections of the country?

You can destroy this valuable home market by such legislation as is proposed in this bill; you can diminish this demand for food, for cotton, for wool, for flax, and hemp produced in other sections of the country by following the delusive theories of our friends on the other side of the House; you can diminish the capacity of the operatives to buy of you by diminishing their wages; you can drive them from the cotton and woollen factories to the farms; they will then drift to the West and Northwest, not to engage in manufacture, but in a great measure to become tillers of the soil, and instead of being as they are now, and as they will be under a proper tariff system, your consumers, they become your competitors. They go from the ranks of consumers to the ranks of producers; diminish the consumers and increase the producers. The foreign market for agricultural products is one of the delusions of free-trade. If it ever had any real substance as against a good home market that has long since disappeared.

The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee says to the Western farmer, "Let New England go. Pass her by and go to Old England." Well, that is about as practical as the Democratic party ordinarily is.

Mr. Dunn, a prominent member of this House and chairman of one of its leading committees, and I remember to have heard him say what I now read from the *Record*:

The wheat producer of the Northwest is standing face to face with the wheat producer of India. A few years ago India shipped 40,000

bushels of wheat. Last year (1885) she put into the market 40,000,000 bushels. Can you protect the Northwest farmer against that labor? India can put wheat down in the markets of consumption in Europe cheaper than we can transport it from the fields of production to the markets of consumption—that is to say, India can produce and market her wheat in Europe for what it costs the farmer of the Northwest to transport his to the market of consumption, without allowing him for the cost of production. In other words, the transportation of wheat costs the American farmer as much as both transportation and production cost the India farmer.

In the face of a statement like this, from such high Democratic authority, how, I ask, is the wheat of the American farmer to reach the European market with any profit to our producers? And yet it is to this kind of competition the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee invites the American farmer. Do the farmers want such a market with such a competition? What their answer will be no man can doubt. They reject with indignation and scorn the chairman's invitation. The home market is the best, besides being the safest. It has got the most money to spend, and spends the most. It consumes the most; it is therefore the most profitable.

The masses of our people live better than any people in the world. Great Britain only buys our food products when she has not enough of her own and can reach no other supply. This market, therefore, is fitful and fluctuating, and cannot be relied upon as we can rely upon our own consumers. The foreign market under a revenue tariff for agricultural products has not been encouraging in our own experience in the past. It promises less under such a system in the future.

VIEWS ON THE TARIFF.

BY

HON. JOHN G. CARLISLE,

OF KENTUCKY.

[From his Speech in the House of Representatives, May 19, 1883.]

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue — Mr. Carlisle said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall not attempt to follow the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Reed] in all the arguments he has made or in all the illustrations he has submitted, for in fact I was unable to hear a large part of what he said. He started off with the proposition that the supporters of the pending bill were either inconsistent or insincere, or perhaps both; because, he says, if the protection is wrong, the tariff for revenue is also wrong; there is no difference in principle between them, the difference being only in degree. The gentleman therefore argues that the supporters of this bill should advocate absolute free-trade. I might retort on the gentleman by saying that if the doctrine of protection is correct, that doctrine should be carried by himself and his friends to its logical result — absolute prohibition of foreign

imports. But the gentleman himself has said that it is his purpose and the purpose of his political associates to preserve in this country all its own wealth, even if they are compelled to erect a Chinese wall around it. China preserved all the wealth of her own people within her limits for thousands of years; and I do not think that the advocates of diversified industries and the friends of labor can find much to encourage them in the social and commercial condition of that country. There, protection, pure and simple, was carried to its logical result and produced its inevitable effects. With the oldest civilization in the world, with every variety of soil and climate and natural resources, with a frugal and industrious people, with a literature abounding in philosophic thought, the useful arts of industry are still in their infancy and labor is the abject slave of capital. We do not wish another wall of China here, nor do we want absolute free-trade. We all recognize the fact that the government must have a revenue and that that revenue must be raised by taxation in some form or other. I presume the gentleman will concede that all taxation is an evil, which it would be well to avoid if possible; and we are reduced to a choice between that system which would confine the trade of our people to our limits without increasing the revenue of the government and the more liberal system which will make commerce as free as possible, consistent with raising sufficient revenue for the support of the government. If under this latter system our manufacturing and mining industries receive a benefit from the duty on imported goods they are entitled to it. It is impossible to impose taxes under any system that can be devised without hurting somebody and helping somebody, and for my part — and I speak the sentiments of my political friends — I

would rather help them than hurt them. But the gentleman from Maine in his long discourse made no reference whatever to the actual situation which now confronts us — a situation which makes it the imperative duty of the representatives of the people to reduce the revenue before this Congress shall adjourn. On the first day of the present month there was in the Treasury \$16,143,000 in excess of all the current liabilities of the government, showing that there has been, since December 1, an average monthly accumulation of more than \$11,000,000. Every dollar of this enormous sum has been taken by the law from the commercial pursuits of the people at a time when it was sorely needed in the prosecution of their business and under circumstances which afford no justification whatever for the exactment. The question this Congress must decide, is whether this policy shall be longer continued here in this country where the people are supposed to govern in their own right and their own interests.

I can imagine no financial condition more dangerous to the integrity of legislation and the prosperity of the people than that which results from an accumulation of a large surplus in the public treasury. Even if it was possible for such an accumulation as we now have to come into our public treasury without the imposition of any tax, it would still be a great misfortune, because its inevitable effect is to encourage useless and extravagant appropriations of public money, in violation of those principles of public economy which have been found to be absolutely essential to the preservation of a popular form of government and the constitutional limitations on its powers. It is safe to say that so long as this policy continues, largesses and bounties for the promotion of purely private enterprises will be de

manded and new fields for the exercise of legislative labor, new objects for the appropriation of the public money, will be discovered.

But it is said we still have outstanding a vast public debt, and that no great danger can befall the country if the present rates of taxation are continued and the surplus applied to the purchase of the bonds. I believe that so long as we actually have a surplus, its application to the extinguishment of the public debt is the very best use that can be made of it. But I totally dissent from the proposition that it is either wise or just to pursue a fiscal policy that taxes the people, merely for the purpose of raising revenue to be used in the purchase, at a premium, of the unmatured bonds of the government, except so far as may be necessary to comply with the requirements of the sinking fund law. And I am not altogether satisfied that if the revenue could be properly reduced it would not be wise to suspend the operation of the law, to some extent at least, for some short period of time. During the last month the Secretary of the Treasury had purchased of four per cent. bonds \$13,456,500, on which interest had accrued to the amount of \$53,172. For these bonds, with the accrued interest, he was compelled to pay, and did pay, the sum of \$17,046,136, or \$3,586,464 over and above the amount of the principal and accrued interest, paying a premium of twenty-six and one-fourth per cent. During the same time and under the same authority he purchased \$12,404,450 of four and one-half per cent. bonds, on which interest had accrued to the amount of \$108,000. For these bonds he paid \$13,379,000, or \$866,000 in excess of the principal and interest, or a premium of seven per cent. This is the situation into which the government has been forced by the failure of Congress in the past to take proper provision for

the reduction of the revenue. Millions of dollars are taken by law from the hands of the people who earn the money by their labor and by their skill in the prosecution of their business to be paid over to the bondholders in excess of the legal obligation of the bonds. If Congress adjourns without applying the remedy this unjust process must go on indefinitely. In the presence of such a situation we cannot afford to quarrel over details. A reduction of the revenue, not by increasing taxation, as some propose, but by reducing taxation in such measure as to afford the largest measure of relief to the people, and their industries, should be the great and controlling object to which everything else should be subordinated. I do not mean that any industry, however small and apparently insignificant, should not be carefully considered in a friendly spirit. But I do mean that the general interest of the many should not be subordinated to the special interests of the few. This is purely a practical question. Its consideration necessarily involves a discussion to some extent of the principle on which the power of taxation is exercised. There is a fundamental and irreconcilable difference of opinion between those who believe that the power of taxation should be exercised only for public purposes, and that the burdens of taxation should be distributed equally among all the people according to their ability to bear them, and those who believe it is the right and duty of the government to encourage private interests by the imposition of higher rates than the needs of the government require. No man in public life would venture to advocate excessive taxation merely for the purpose of raising an excessive revenue. But when the rates are so adjusted or the objects of the taxation so selected as to give one section of the country or one class of industries advantages or supposed advantages over another section or class

we find a large number of able and influential men in public life who advocate the system, or at least excuse it. This is the sole cause of the difficulty which we are now encountering in our efforts to relieve the people and reduce the surplus. It is the sole cause of the unfortunate delay which has occurred in the reduction of the revenue, and if the present measure shall fail and disaster in any form shall come upon the country and the industrial interests of the country by reason of overtaxation and an accumulation of money in the Treasury, this vicious feature in our system will be responsible for it. Whenever we propose to reduce the burdens of taxation on the people; whenever we propose to secure to each individual citizen the full fruits of his own toil, subject only to the requirements of the government; whenever we propose to remove restrictions so that there may be freer production and freer exchange, the alarm is sounded and all the cohorts of monopoly are assembled to hear the heralds proclaim the immediate and irretrievable ruin of the country. We have heard it over and over again during this debate. It has been repeated over and over again in this hall, and gentlemen from New England especially, seem alarmed as to the fate that would befall their industries in case the bill should become a law. Gentlemen from New England predicted in 1846 that the duties fixed by the law of that date would ruin their textile industries. In 1857 all of the New England members voted for a still further reduction of twenty per cent. from what they called the ruinously low tariff of 1846. In the free-trade period, as the Republicans called the decade from 1850 to 1860, the wool-manufactured product increased forty-two per cent. and labor thirty-seven per cent. The increased product in New England was 62 per cent. In hosiery the product increased 21 per cent. In cotton the product in

New England increased 21 per cent. In boots and shoes, upon which the duty had been reduced 16 per cent., the increase in New England was 83 per cent.; the product in 1860 in New England was more than the entire product of the Union in 1850. This was what the Republicans from New England had seen under a low tariff. Within eleven years after the passage of this bill the people of New England would vote for a still further reduction, or if they did not the people would send somebody here who would. This was what they had seen. They had seen their manufacturing industries growing and prospering as never before. They saw the number of their hands constantly increasing and the rates of wages constantly rising. They saw the great manufacturing and agricultural interests flourish as never before. But there was something they did not see. They did not see great monopolies and trusts created to control the production and prices of the necessities of life. They did not see colossal fortunes realized by a few individuals in a short time while the great masses of people were struggling hard to live comfortably and pay their taxes. They did not see thousands of honest laboring men out of employment, parading the streets of a city or tramping to and fro on the public highways demanding work or bread. With these things under a high tariff and class legislation we have become familiar.

The gentleman from Michigan (Burrows) has stated that the result of the passage of the tariff acts of 1846 and 1857 was to reduce the country to absolute bankruptcy and so affect the credit of the government that it was compelled to borrow money in times of peace at a discount of from twelve to thirty per cent. The financial depression that occurred in 1857 was an insignificant incident of history compared with that great commercial and industrial disaster which occurred

in 1873 and which devastated the country for five long years, ruining banking and mercantile houses, extinguishing the fires in the furnaces, paralyzing the industries of the people and bringing down prices of all our products of every kind. Under the low rates of duty the country recovered from the depression of 1857 in a comparatively few months and like an awakened giant marched on in its path of greatness and power. After the panic of 1873 it struggled for long weary years. From the passage of the tariff act of 1846 down to the last ten days of Buchanan's administration, when civil war was imminent in this country, not a bond, not a treasury note, not a government obligation in any form, sold for less than par in gold, while many of them sold at a very considerable premium in gold. During the last ten days of that administration, when the clouds of a great civil commotion were overshadowing the land, \$8,000-000 of bonds were sold December 17, 1860, at ninety and one-half per cent., or a discount of nine and one-half per cent., instead of from twelve to thirty per cent., as stated by the gentleman from Michigan. After the Democratic administration had gone out and the Republican administration had come in, after the low tariff of 1846 and 1857 had been repealed and the Morrill tariff bill of 1861 had been passed, the Republican administration sold bonds at fifteen per cent. discount. Would it be fair to say that the bonds were sold at a discount because the rates of duty on imported goods had been increased? I would be ashamed of myself if I made such a charge. The truth is, the credit of the government was always good in peace and in war until the civil commotion came in 1860, and no administration, Democratic or Republican, no system of taxation, free trade or protection, could have prevented the sacrifice of government obligations under such circumstances.

So far the main opposition to this bill has been against that part which proposes to reduce the tariff taxes and we are told that its passage will ruin many valuable industries now flourishing; that it will throw many workmen out of employment and diminish the wages of those who still manage to find work to do. If I believed that the passage of this bill would work any material injury to any honest industry in this country, I would hesitate long, notwithstanding the emergency now on us, before casting my vote for it. But I am satisfied that instead of that, it will greatly benefit them, and at the same time relieve the people. In 1866, \$127,000,000 were collected by the government from manufacturers and their products. Every vestige of that enormous burden has been removed, and now I submit that the time has come when the great masses of consumers have a right to demand relief. There never was a time when this internal tax remained on the manufacturers and their products, that they would not have been glad to surrender a large part of the duties on imported goods to remove that charge from their industries.

The gentleman from Maine talks about the home market. We all know, he says, that this protection system is beneficial to the farmer because, first, it protects his products against competition from the agricultural products of other countries; and, second, the gentleman says, because it diversifies industry, and by increasing the number of people engaged in other than agricultural pursuits, increases the market for his product. It is scarcely necessary for me to make an argument to show that as to all those agricultural products which the farmers of this country are compelled to send abroad to sell at foreign prices the duty can not be of any possible benefit. The American farmer understands this so surely, and the fallacy of this argument has so often

been exposed that it would be a waste of time to dwell upon it. It is barely possible that at some particular time and at some particular point along the Northern border a duty upon barley and hay and potatoes and eggs and perhaps a few other articles may enable the producers of those articles at the particular time and place to realize a higher price than he would if the duty were removed. But even this occasional and uncertain benefit is of but very little advantage to him, and when you come to remember that he is all the time subjected to the burden which a high tariff imposes on the articles he has to buy, and undertake to set off his advantages against his disadvantages you will find a large balance on the wrong side. Of course the domestic market, the home market, is improving and has been improving and will continue to improve under any system of taxation along with the increase of population, of wealth, the improved facilities for production and distribution in this country. But how long are our farmers to sit down and wait for the coming of the home market which the gentlemen on the other side have been promising them for so many long years? Take the average production of wheat in this country during the last few years and assume that there shall be no increase whatever in the production and that the consumption per capita will remain always precisely as it is, and it is capable of demonstration that there can be no home market for all the wheat of the American farmer until our population shall reach nearly 100,000,000. The last statistics showing the consumption and production and the exportation of raw cotton in this country show that in 1866 we sent abroad about two-thirds of our production and we consumed in our manufactories at home one-third. The capital invested in 1880 was \$210,000,000; the number of hands employed, 172,000. Now, if

we have been more than 100 years in so developing these cotton industries as to enable them to take and consume only three-quarters of the American cotton crop at prices fixed in Europe, how many centuries will we have to wait until these factories shall develop so as to consume all our production at fair prices fixed in this country? What is to become of these products? Are the farmers of the North and the planters of the South to abandon their great wheat and cotton fields and undertake the cultivation of crops not suited to their soil in order that these gentlemen may experiment to see whether a home market can be made by legislation? No, sir. These great agricultural interests must go on and the American farmer must sell his surplus products in any market he can and for any price he can.

The great controlling element is the world's supply and the world's demand. The American producers of wheat, for instance, do not compete among themselves alone in the great wheat markets of Europe. They meet there the wheat from England, from Russia, Austria, Hungary and India, and all the other grain growing regions of Europe and Asia, and they sell their product there in competition with all the product and prices of labor on the face of the earth. The lately emancipated slaves of Russia; the laborer of India, who lives all summer on rice and milk and requires only a coarse cotton shirt and sleeps on the floor of a bamboo hut, all pour their products into the market of Europe to meet the wheat from Minnesota and Dakota, and no tariff we can put on and no system of taxation here can prevent it. The same argument applies to all our agricultural products, and the American farmer understands it. And he understands that as long as he is compelled to export and sell in a foreign market any part of his product, the foreign market is worth as much to him as the home market

because he receives there just what he would receive here, after deducting the cost of transportation. Therefore, in place of restricting his market he wants it enlarged so that his products, which cannot be consumed here, can find a market among the people elsewhere. What the American farmer wants is a home market in which he can purchase his supplies as cheaply as his competitors. When he can not get this, then he asks that there may be such a system as will enable him to purchase elsewhere and import them, without being unreasonably fined for carrying on this harmless business. That is what the American farmer wants. We want not only the home markets but the markets of the world for the variety of the products of this great country. We want to sell our manufactured products to India and the manufacturing places of Europe and the agricultural places of Mexico, South America and Asia. We want to remove as far as we can the barriers which annoy our industries, so that this country may take its place with the great commercial countries of the world and become rich and powerful as no other country has before.

QUALIFICATIONS OF VOTERS IN THE STATES.

STATES.	Requirement as to Citizenship.	RESIDENCE IN			Registration.
		State.	County	Voting Pre- cinct.	
Alabama....	Citiz. or declared intent.	1 year..	3 mos..	1 month	Legis. may regulate
Arkansas....	Citiz. or declared intent.	1 year..	6 mos..	1 month	Prohib. as bar to suf
California....	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	90 days	30 days	Reg. req. by law.
Colorado....	Citiz. or declared intent.	6 mos..	.....	.....	Req. by Constitution
Connecticut..	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	6 mos..	6 mos..	Required by law.
Delaware....	Actual county taxpayers	1 year..	1 month	.....	No reg. required.
Florida.....	{ U. S. citizens or de- clared intention.... }	1 year..	6 mos..	.....	Req. by Const.
Georgia.....	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	6 mos..	.....	Leg. may regulate.
Illinois.....	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	90 days	30 days	Required by law.
Indiana.....	Citiz. or declared intent.	6 mos..	60 days	30 days	No law for reg.
Iowa.....	Actual citizens.....	6 mos..	60 days	.....	Required by law.
Kansas.....	Citiz. or declared intent.	6 mos..	.....	30 days	Req. in cities only.
Kentucky....	Free white male citizens	2 years	1 year..	60 days	No reg. required.
Louisiana....	Citiz. or declared intent.	1 year..	6 mos..	30 days	Leg. may regulate.
Maine.....	Actual citizens.....	3 mos..	.....	.....	Required by law.
Maryland....	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	6 mos..	.....	Required by Const.
Massachusetts	Citizens.....	1 year..	.....	6 mos..	Required by law.
Michigan....	Citiz. or declared intent.	3 mos..	.....	10 days	Required by law.
Minnesota....	Citiz. or declared intent.	4 mos..	.....	10 days	Required by law.
Mississippi..	Actual citizens.....	6 mos..	1 month	.....	Required by Const.
Missouri....	Citiz. or declared intent.	1 year..	60 days	.....	{ Req. by Const. in cities only.
Nebraska....	Citiz. or declared intent.	6 mos..	.....	.....	Required by law.
Nevada.....	Citiz. or declared intent.	6 mos..	30 days	.....	Required by Const.
N. Hampshire	Actual citizens.....	.....	.....	6 mos..	Required by law.
New Jersey..	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	5 mos..	.....	Req. cities of 10,000.
New York....	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	4 mos..	30 days	Req. cities of 10,000.
N. Carolina..	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	90 days	.....	Required by Const.
Ohio.....	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	.....	.....	No reg. required.
Oregon.....	Citiz. or declared intent.	6 mos..	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	.....	2 mos..	Required by Const.
Rhode Island	Actual tax-paying citiz.	1 year..	.....	6 mos..	Required by law.
S. Carolina..	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	60 days	.....	Required by Const.
Tennessee....	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	6 mos..	.....	No reg. required.
Texas.....	Citiz. or declared intent.	1 year..	6 mos..	6 mos..	Prohibited.
Vermont.....	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	.....	.....	Required by law.
Virginia....	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	.....	3 mos..	Required by law.
West Virginia	Actual citizens.....	1 year..	60 days	.....	Prohibited.
Wisconsin...	Citiz. or declared intent.	1 year..	.....	.....	Required by law.

State elections are held in the various states as follows:

Alabama and Kentucky.....	First Monday in August.
Arkansas.....	" " " September.
Georgia.....	" " " Wednesday in October.
Louisiana.....	Tuesday after third Monday in April.
Maine.....	Second Monday in September.
Oregon.....	First " " " June.
Rhode Island.....	" " " Wednesday in April.
Vermont.....	" " " Tuesday in September.

All others are on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

State Presidential elections are all on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES FROM 1852 TO 1888.

Year of Election.	No. of States.	Total Elec. V.	PRESIDENTS.					VICE-PRESIDENTS.	
			POLITICAL PARTY.	CANDIDATES.	States.	VOTE.		CANDIDATES.	Elec. Vote.
						Popular.	Elect ^r l		
1852	31	296	Democratic	Franklin Pierce.....	27	1,601,474	254	Wm. R. King	254
			Whig.....	Winfield Scott	4	1,386,578	42	Wm. A. Graham..	42
			Free Dem.	John P. Hale.....	..	156,149	...	Geo. W. Julian...	...
1856	31	296	Democratic	James Buchanan....	19	1,838,169	174	J. C. Breckinridge.	174
			Republican	John C. Fremont....	11	1,341,264	114	Wm. L. Dayton...	114
			American...	Millard Fillmore....	1	874,534	8	A. J. Donelson....	8
1860	33	303	Republican.	Abraham Lincoln... 17	1,868,352	180	Hannibal Hamlin	180	
			Democratic	J. C. Breckinridge... 11	845,763	72	Joseph Lane	72	
			Cons. Union	John Bell.....	3	589,581	39	Edward Everett...	39
			Ind. Dem...	S. A. Douglas.....	2	1,375,157	12	H. V. Johnson ...	12
1864	*36	314	Republican.	Abraham Lincoln... 22	2,216,067	212	Andrew Johnson.	212	
			Democratic	Geo. B. McClellan... 3	1,908,725	21	G. H. Pendleton..	21	
				States not voting.. 11	.....	81	.....	81
1868	†37	317	Republican.	Ulysses S. Grant.... 26	3,015,071	214	Schuyler Colfax ..	214	
			Democratic	Horatio Seymour.... 8	2,709,613	80	F. P. Blair, Jr....	80	
				States not voting.. 3	.....	23	.....	23
1872	37	366	Republican.	Ulysses S. Grant.... 31	3,597,070	286	Henry Wilson....	286	
			Dem. & Lib.	Horace Greeley 6	2,834,079	...	B. Gratz Brown..	47	
			Democratic	Charles O'Connor ...	29,408	...	Geo. W. Julian...	5	
			Temperance	James Black.....	5,608	...	A. H. Colquitt...	5	
				Thos. A. Hendricks..	...	42	John M. Palmer...	3	
				B. Gratz Brown.....	...	18	T. E. Bramlette...	3	
				Charles J. Jenkins...	...	2	W. S. Groesbeck...	1	
				David Davis.....	...	1	Willis B. Machen.	1	
				† Not Counted.....	...	17	N. P. Banks	1	
							.....	14
1876	38	369	Republican.	Rutherford B. Hayes 21	4,033,350	185	Wm. A. Wheeler.	185	
			Democratic	Samuel J. Tilden... 17	4,234,885	184	T. A. Hendricks..	184	
			Greenback..	Peter Cooper.....	81,740	...	Samuel Cary.....	...	
			Prohibition.	Green Clay Smith...	9,522	...	G. T. Stewart....	...	
				Scattering.....	2,636	...	.....	...
1880	38	369	Republican.	James A. Garfield... 19	4,449,053	214	Cheat. A. Arthur.	214	
			Democratic	Winfield S. Hancock 19	4,442,035	155	Wm. H. English...	155	
			Greenback..	James B. Weaver... ..	307,306	...	B. J. Chambers...	...	
			Prohibition.	Neal Dow.....	10,305	...	H. A. Thompson...	...	
			American...	John W. Phelps.....	707	...	Sam. C. Pomeroy ..	...
				Scattering.....	989	...	.....	...
1884	38	401	Democratic	Grover Cleveland ... 20	4,911,017	219	T. A. Hendricks..	219	
			Republican	James G. Blaine 18	4,848,834	182	John A. Logan...	182	
			Prohibition.	John P. St. John....	151,809	...	William Daniel...	...	
			Greenback..	Benj. F. Butler.....	133,825	...	A. M. West.....	...	
				Scattering.....	11,362	...	.....	...
†									

* Eleven States did not vote, viz.: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

† Three States did not vote, viz.: Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

‡ The number of Electoral votes for 1888 will be 401.

POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1884.

Showing by States the vote for each of the four leading candidates for President, the plurality received and the aggregate vote cast.

STATES.	Cleveland. Dem.	Blaine. Rep.	Butler. Gr.	St. John. Pro.	Cleveland's plurality.	Blaine's plurality.	Total popular vote.
Alabama.....	92,978	59,144	762	610	33,829	.....	153,489
Arkansas.....	72,927	50,895	1,874	.....	22,032	.....	125,580
California.....	89,288	102,416	2,017	2,920	.....	13,128	193,738
Colorado.....	27,603	36,166	1,961	762	.....	8,563	66,492
Connecticut.....	67,182	65,898	1,685	2,494	1,284	.....	137,233
Delaware.....	16,976	13,053	10	64	3,923	.....	30,103
Florida.....	31,769	28,031	.....	72	3,738	.....	59,872
Georgia.....	94,653	47,692	135	168	46,961	.....	143,543
Illinois.....	312,584	337,411	10,849	12,005	.....	24,897	672,849
Indiana.....	244,992	238,480	8,293	3,028	6,512	.....	494,793
Iowa.....	*177,316	197,069	.....	1,472	.....	19,773	375,969
Kansas.....	90,132	154,406	16,341	4,954	.....	64,274	265,843
Kentucky.....	152,961	118,122	1,693	3,139	34,839	.....	275,915
Louisiana.....	62,546	46,347	120	338	16,199	.....	109,234
Maine.....	61,656	71,716	3,994	2,143	.....	20,060	129,509
Maryland.....	96,866	85,748	578	2,827	11,118	.....	186,019
Massachusetts.....	122,352	146,724	24,382	9,925	.....	24,372	303,383
Michigan.....	*176,361	192,669	753	18,403	.....	3,308	401,186
Minnesota.....	70,065	111,685	3,583	4,684	.....	41,620	190,017
Mississippi.....	76,510	43,509	.....	.....	33,001	.....	120,019
Missouri.....	235,988	*202,929	.....	2,153	33,059	.....	441,070
Nebraska.....	*54,391	76,903	.....	2,899	.....	22,512	134,204
Nevada.....	5,678	7,193	26	.....	.....	1,615	12,797
New Hampshire.....	39,187	*43,250	552	1,571	.....	4,063	84,566
New Jersey.....	127,778	123,366	3,456	6,153	4,412	.....	261,537
New York.....	563,048	562,001	17,002	25,001	1,047	.....	1,171,312
North Carolina.....	142,212	125,068	.....	454	17,684	.....	268,474
Ohio.....	303,286	400,082	5,170	11,269	.....	31,796	784,807
Oregon.....	24,604	26,860	726	492	.....	2,256	52,682
Pennsylvania.....	392,785	473,804	17,002	15,737	.....	81,019	899,328
Rhode Island.....	12,391	19,030	422	928	.....	6,639	32,771
South Carolina.....	69,764	21,733	.....	.....	48,031	.....	91,579
Tennessee.....	153,270	124,090	957	1,151	9,180	.....	259,463
Texas.....	223,679	91,701	3,321	3,506	131,973	.....	322,209
Vermont.....	17,331	29,514	785	1,752	.....	22,183	59,392
Virginia.....	145,497	139,356	.....	138	6,141	.....	284,991
W. Virginia.....	67,817	*63,096	805	939	4,221	.....	132,157
Wisconsin.....	146,459	161,157	4,598	7,656	.....	14,698	319,942
Total.....	4,911,017	4,848,334	133,825	181,809	469,389	406,706	10,048,061
Cleveland's plurality..	62,683	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

* In these three States, Iowa, Michigan, and Nebraska, there was a "fusion" of the Democratic and the National Greenback parties.

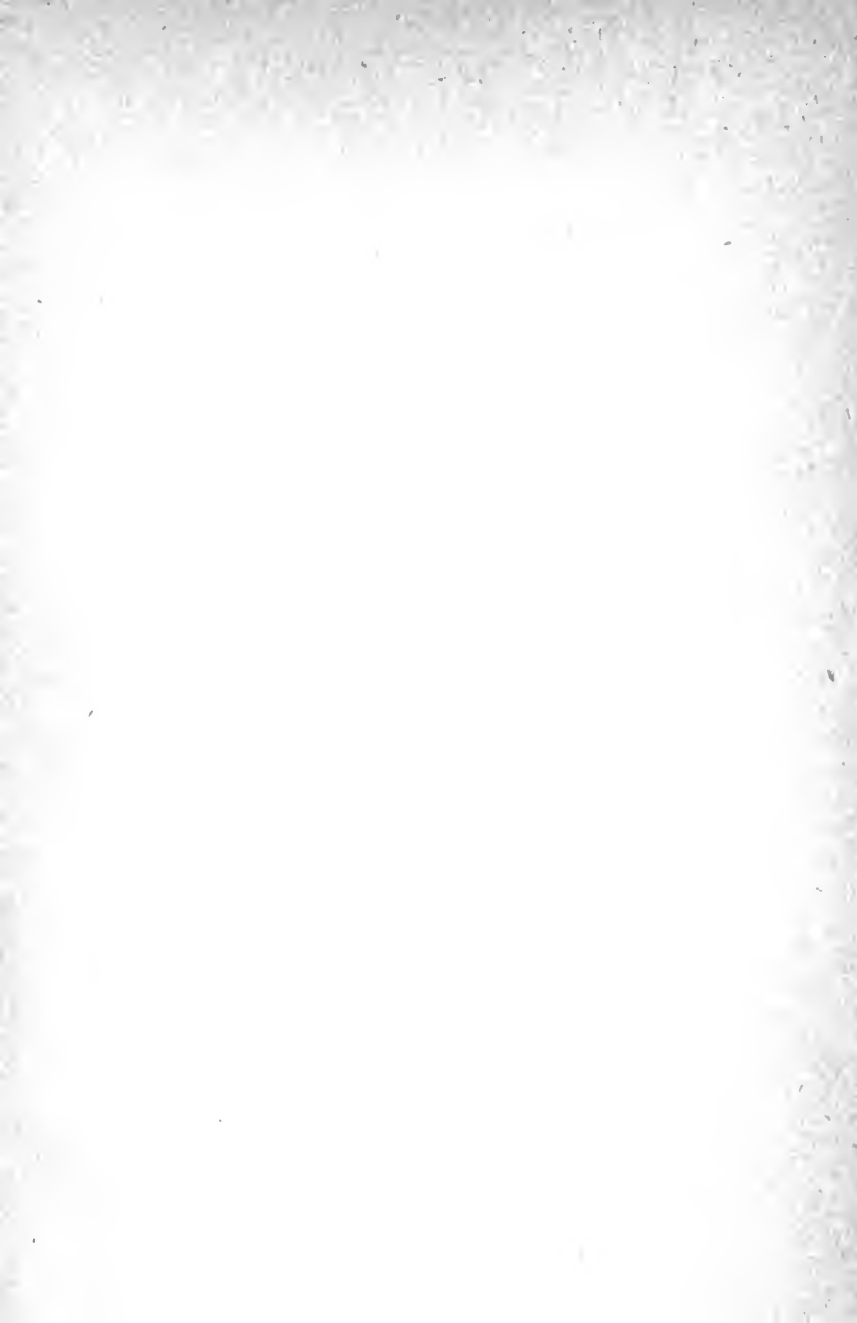
† In Missouri and West Virginia there was a "fusion" of the Republican and the National Greenback parties.

ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT,

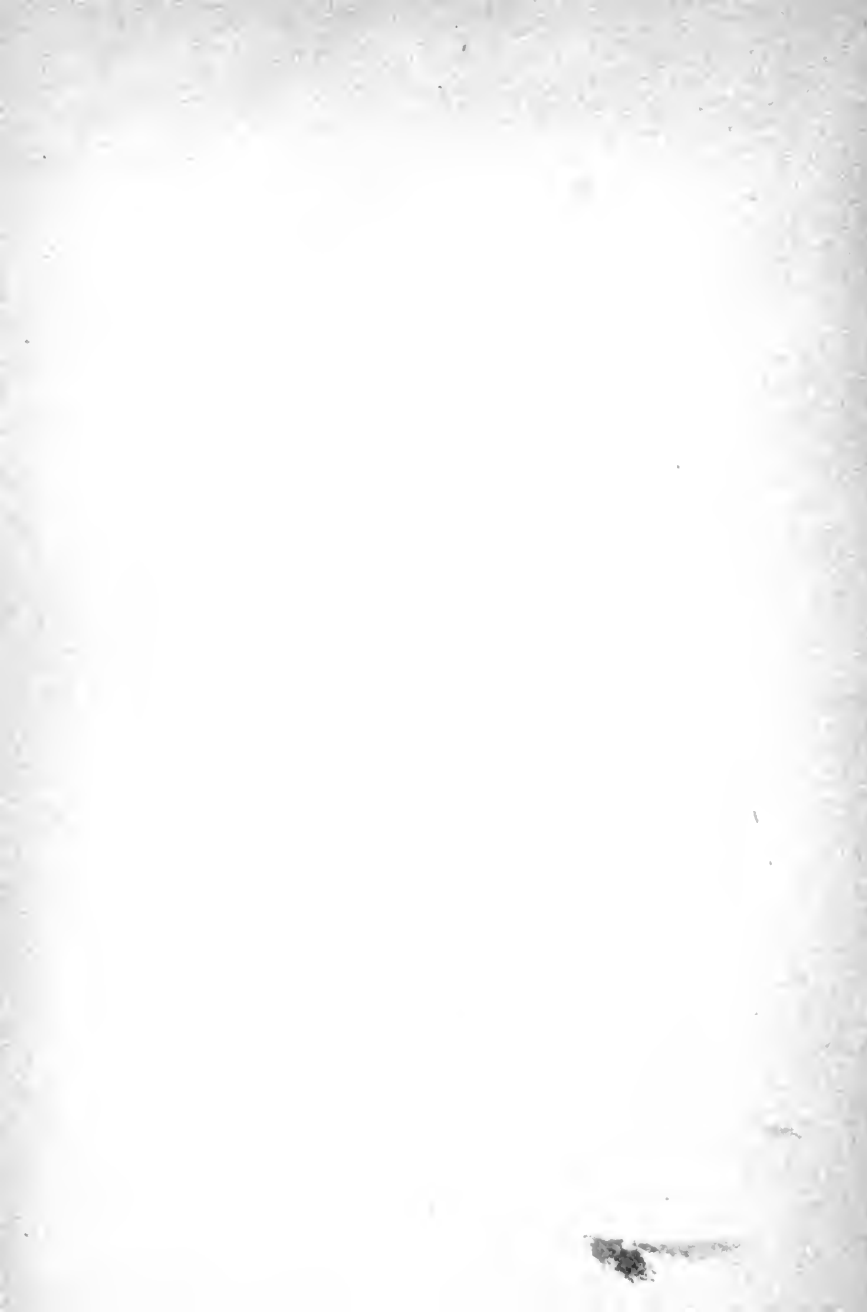
At each election from 1860 to 1884.

STATES.	1860.				1864. ¹	1868. ²	1872.	1876.	1880.	1884.						
	Lincoln—Rep.	Breckenridge—Dem.	Bell—American.	Douglas—Ind. Dem.	Lincoln—Rep.	McClellan—Dem.	Grant—Rep.	Seymour—Dem.	Grant—Rep.	Hendricks—Dem.	Hayes—Rep.	Tilden—Dem.	Garfield—Rep.	Hancock—Dem.	Cleveland—Dem.	Blaine—Rep.
Alabama.....	9					8	10		10		10	10	10	10	10	...
Arkansas.....	4	4			5	5	6		6		6	6	6	6	7	...
California.....	4				5	5	6		6		6	6	6	6	6	8
Colorado.....	6				6	5	6		6		6	6	6	6	6	3
Connecticut.....	3					3	3		3		3	3	3	3	3	...
Delaware.....	3					3	4		4		4	4	4	4	4	...
Florida.....	10					8	4		4		4	4	4	4	4	...
Georgia.....	11				16	16	21		21		21	21	21	21	21	22
Illinois.....	13				13	13	15		15		15	15	15	15	15	...
Indiana.....	4				8	8	11		11		11	11	11	11	11	13
Iowa.....	4				3	3	6		6		6	6	6	6	6	9
Kansas.....						11	11		8		12	12	12	12	12	...
Kentucky.....		12					7		8		8	8	8	8	8	...
Louisiana.....	6						7		7		7	7	7	7	7	8
Maine.....	8				7	7	7		7		7	7	7	7	7	8
Maryland.....	8				7	7	7		7		7	7	7	7	7	...
Massachusetts.....	13				12	12	13		13		13	13	13	13	13	14
Michigan.....	6				8	8	11		11		11	11	11	11	11	13
Minnesota.....	4				4	4	5		5		5	5	5	5	5	7
Mississippi.....	7						8		8		8	8	8	8	8	9
Missouri.....				9	11	11	6		15		15	15	15	15	15	16
Nebraska.....						3	3		3		3	3	3	3	3	5
Nevada.....					2	3	3		3		3	3	3	3	3	...
New Hampshire.....	5				5	5	5		5		5	5	5	5	5	4
New Jersey.....	4					7	7		9		9	9	9	9	9	...
New York.....	35				33	33	35		35		35	35	35	35	35	36
North Carolina.....	10					9	10		10		10	10	10	10	10	11
Ohio.....	23				21	21	22		22		22	22	22	22	22	23
Oregon.....	3				3	3	3		3		3	3	3	3	3	3
Pennsylvania.....	27				26	26	29		29		29	29	29	29	29	30
Rhode Island.....	4				4	4	4		4		4	4	4	4	4	4
South Carolina.....	8				4	6	7		7		7	7	7	7	7	9
Tennessee.....	12					10	12		12		12	12	12	12	12	14
Texas.....	4						8		8		8	8	8	8	8	13
Vermont.....	5				5	5	5		5		5	5	5	5	5	4
Virginia.....		15					11		11		11	11	11	11	11	12
West Virginia.....					5	5	5		5		5	5	5	5	5	6
Wisconsin.....	5				8	8	10		10		10	10	10	10	10	11
Total.....	180	72	39	12	212	214	236	42	185	184	214	155	219	182	...	...
Number of States voting..	33				36	37	37		38		38	38	38	38	38	...

¹ Eleven Southern States did not vote in 1864.² Mississippi, Texas and Virginia did not vote in 1863.







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